



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Mechanics' Society Library.

No 2480

DETROIT.

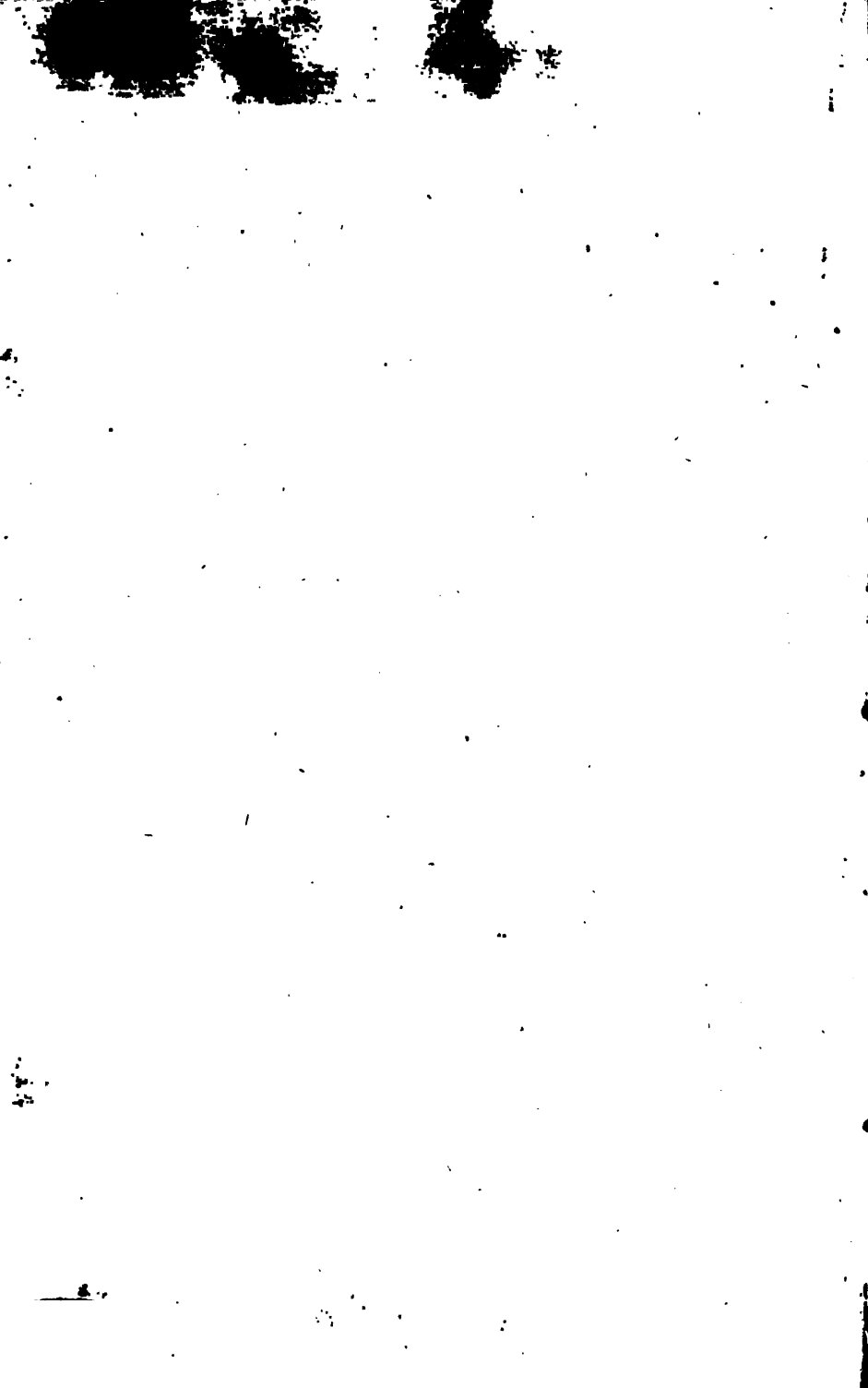
11

22

R27

1788

v. 7



A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
E U R O P E A N S
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,
IN TEN VOLUMES,

By the ABBÉ RAYNAL.

Newly translated from the French,
By J. O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

WITH A
NEW SET OF MAPS ADAPTED TO THE WORK,
AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR A. STRAHAN; AND T. CADELL,
IN THE STRAND.

MDCCLXXXVIII.



C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

S E V E N T H V O L U M E.

B O O K X V I.

	Page
<i>A New Order of Things is established in the French Colonies in North America. Result of these Arrangements,</i>	I
The French, to recover their former losses, people and fortify Cape Breton; and establish considerable fisheries there,	3
Settlement of the French in the island of St. John.	
Tendency of this undertaking,	12
Discovery of the Mississippi by the French,	15
The French settle in the country that is watered by the Mississippi, and call it Louisiana,	20
Louisiana becomes very famous in the time of Law's System. Reason of this,	22
Extent, soil, and climate of Louisiana,	30
General character of the savages of Louisiana, and of the Natchez in particular,	36
Settlements formed by the French in Louisiana,	43
France might have derived great advantages from Louisiana. Faults that have impeded this success,	52

A 2

The

C O N T E N T S.

	Page
The French ministry cede Louisiana to Spain. Had they a right to do it, - - -	66
State of Canada at the peace of Utrecht, - - -	76
Population of Canada, and distribution of its inhabitants, - - -	77
Manners of the French Canadians, - - -	85
Form of government established in Canada. Impedi- ments which cultivation, industry, and fishing expe- rienced from it, - - -	87
Taxes levied in Canada. Expences of the ministry in that country. Manner in which they are paid. To what excess they were carried; and how they were got rid of, - - -	93
Advantages which France might have derived from Ca- nada, - - -	96
Difficulties which France had to overcome, in order to derive advantages from Canada, - - -	103
Origin of the wars between the English and the French in Canada, - - -	105
Conquest of Cape Breton by the English, - - -	106
The English attack Canada. They at first experience great misfortunes there. Causes of them, - - -	111
Taking of Quebec by the English. The conquest of this capital brings on in time the surrender of the whole colony, - - -	119
Hath the acquisition of Canada been advantageous or prejudicial to England, - - -	125

B O O K X V I I.

<i>English Colonies settled at Hudson's Bay, Ca- nada, the Island of St. John, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New England, New York, and New Jersey, - - -</i>	<i>128</i>
First expeditions of the English in North America, - - -	ib.
The continent of America is peopled in consequence of the religious wars that disturb England, - - -	133
Parallel between the Old and the New World, - - -	142
Comparison	

C O N T E N T S.

	Page
Comparison between civilized people and savages,	153
The state in which the English found North America, and what they have done there,	160
Climate of Hudson's Bay, and customs of its inhabitants.	
Trade carried on there,	162
Whether there be a passage from Hudson's Bay to the East Indies,	171
Hath the passage from Hudson's Bay to the East Indies been properly searched for,	177
State of Canada since it hath been under the dominion of Great Britain,	180
What is become of the islands of St. John, of Magda- len, and of Cape Breton, since they have been subject to the British government,	187
Description of the island of Newfoundland,	190
At what period, and in what manner, the English and French have settled at Newfoundland,	191
It is the cod-fish alone which renders Newfoundland of importance. Present state of this fishery divided into wandering and stationary fishery,	196
Sketch of Nova Scotia. The French settle there.	
Their conduct in this settlement,	216
France is compelled to cede Nova Scotia to England,	220
Manners of the French who remained subject to the English government in Nova Scotia,	222
Present state of Nova Scotia,	229
Foundation of New England,	231
Form of government established at New England,	234
Fanaticism occasions great calamities in New England,	235
Extent, natural history, fisheries, population, cultures, manufactures, and exportations of New England,	245
The Dutch found the colony of New Belgia, afterwards called New York,	256
At what period, and in what manner, the English make themselves masters of New Belgia,	258
The colony is ceded to the duke of York. Principles upon which he founded its administration,	261
King William gives a government to this colony. Events previous to this new arrangement,	263
Soil, population, and commerce of the colony,	267
	Ancient

C O N T E N T S.

	Page
Ancient and modern manners of New York,	269
Revolutions which have happened in New Jerſey,	271
Preſent ſtate of New Jerſey, and what it may become,	272

B O O K XVIII.

<i>Engliſh Colonies founded in Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. General Reflections on all theſe Settlements,</i>	277
Parallel between a bad and a good government,	ib.
The Quakers found Pennſylvania. Manners of that ſect,	279
Origin and character of the Quakers,	283
Foundation of Pennſylvania by Penn. Principles of his legiſlation,	287
Proſperity of Pennſylvania,	292
Preſent ſtate of Philadelphia,	305
Origin of Maryland. Nature of its government,	311
Events which have happened at Maryland,	314
Preſent ſtate of Maryland. Its cultures,	315
What Maryland may become,	322
In what manner Virginia was eſtabliſhed, and by whom,	323
Obſtacles to the proſperity of Virginia,	327
Population, trade, and manners of Virginia,	335
Origin of the two Carolinas. Their firſt and their laſt government both civil and religious,	340
Conformities between the two Carolinas,	347
What diſtinguiſhes North Carolina,	348
What diſtinguiſhes South Carolina,	354
By whom, upon what occaſion, and in what manner, Georgia was founded,	359
Impediments that have prevented the progreſs of Georgia,	363
Situation and exportations of Georgia,	370
Florida becomes a Spaniſh poſſeſſion,	ib.
Florida is ceded to Great Britain by the court of Madrid,	376
What	

C O N T E N T S.

	Page
What hath been done by England, and what she may expect to do in Florida,	378
Extent of the British dominions in North America,	384
Trees peculiar to North America,	388
Birds peculiar to North America,	390
Europe supplies North America with domestic animals,	393
European grain hath been cultivated in North America,	ib.
North America hath supplied Europe with naval stores,	396
The iron of North America hath been conveyed into our climates,	399
Can it be expected that wine and silk will prosper in North America,	402
With what kind of men the provinces of North America were peopled,	404
To what degree the population of North America hath arisen,	418
Manners prevailing at present in North America,	421
Nature of the governments established in North America,	423
The coin that has been current in the English colonies in North America,	434
Regulations to which the internal industry and the external trade of North America had been subjected,	435
Distressed state of England in 1763,	440
England calls its colonies to its assistance,	442
England exacts from her colonies what she ought only to have asked of them,	449
England, after having given way, wishes to be obeyed by its colonies. Measures which they take to resist its authority,	453
The colonies had a right to separate themselves from their mother-country, even if they had no cause of discontent,	462
What measures would it have suited England to adopt, when she saw the ferment raised in her colonies,	481
England resolves to reduce the colonies by force,	493
The colonies break the ties which united them to England; and declare themselves independent of that country,	501
War begins between the United States and England,	509
What	

C O N T E N T S.

	Page
What is the reason that the English have not succeeded in subduing the confederate provinces, -	515
Why have not the confederate provinces succeeded in driving the English from the continent of America, -	523
France acknowledges the independence of the United States. This step occasions a war between that crown and the crown of England, - -	532
Spain, not having succeeded in conciliating England with France, declares for the latter of these powers, -	546
What ought to be the policy of the house of Bourbon, should it be victorious, - -	553
What idea must be formed of the thirteen confederated provinces, - - - -	558

A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
E U R O P E A N S
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

B O O K XVI.

*A new Order of Things is established in the
French Colonies in North America. Result
of these Arrangements.*

THE war carried on for the Spanish succession, had raised a ferment in the four quarters of the world, which for the two last centuries have felt the effects of that restless spirit with which Europe hath been agitated. All kingdoms were shaken by the contests excited on account of one, which, under the dominion of Charles V. had stricken terror into them all. The influence of a

VOL. VII.

B

house

B O O K
XVI.

B O O K
XVI.

house whose sovereignty extended over five or six states, had raised the Spanish nation to a pitch of greatness which could not but be extremely flattering to her. At the same time another house, whose power was still superior, because with a less extent of territory it had a greater degree of population, was ambitious of giving the law to that haughty nation. The names of Austria and Bourbon, which had been rivals for two hundred years, were now exerting their last efforts to acquire a superiority, which should no longer be considered as precarious or doubtful between them. The point of contest was, which should have the greatest number of crowns, to boast the possession of. Europe, divided between the claims of the two houses, which were not altogether groundless, was inclined to allow them to extend their branches, but would not permit that several crowns should centre in one house, as they formerly did. Every power took up arms to disperse or divide a vast inheritance; and resolved to dismember it, rather than suffer it to be attached to one, which, with this additional weight of strength, must infallibly destroy the balance of all the rest. As the war was supported by each party with numerous forces and great skill, with warlike people and experienced generals, it continued a long time: it desolated the countries it should have succoured, and even ruined nations that had no concern in it. Victory, which should have determined the contest, was so variable, that it served only to increase the general flame. The same troops that were successful in one country,

try, were defeated in another. The people who ^{B O O K} conquered by sea, were routed on land. The ^{XVI.} news of the loss of a fleet and the gaining of a battle arrived at the same time. Success alternately favoured each party, and by this incon-
 stancy served only to complete the mutual destruction of both. At length, when the blood and treasure of the several states were exhausted, and after a series of calamities and expences that had lasted twelve years, the people who had profited by their misfortunes, and were weakened by their contests, were anxious of recovering the losses they had sustained. They endeavoured to find in the New World the means of peopling and re-establishing the Old. France first turned her views towards North America, to which she was invited by the similarity of soil and climate, and the island of Cape-Breton became immediately the object of her attention.

THE English considered this possession as an equivalent for all the French had lost by the treaty of Utrecht, and not being entirely reconciled to them, strongly opposed their being allowed to people and fortify it. They saw no other method of excluding them from the cod-fishery, and making the entrance into Canada difficult for their ships. The moderation of queen Anne, or, perhaps, the corruption of her ministers, prevented France from being exposed to this fresh mortification: and she was authorised to make what alterations she thought proper at Cape-Breton,

The French, to recover their former losses, people and fortify Cape-Breton; and establish considerable fisheries there.

BOOK
XVI.

THIS island is situated at the entrance of the gulph of St. Lawrence, between the 45th and 47th degrees of north latitude. Newfoundland lies to the east, on the same gulph, and is only 15 or 16 leagues distant from it; and to the west, Acadia is only separated from the island by a straight not more than three or four leagues over. Cape-Breton, thus situated between the territories ceded to its enemies, threatened their possessions, while it protected those of France. The island measures about 36 leagues in length, and 22 in its greatest breadth. It is surrounded with little sharp-pointed rocks, separated from each other by the waves, above which some of their tops are visible. All its harbours open to the east, turning towards the south. On the other parts of the coast there are but a few anchoring-places for small vessels, in creeks, or between islets. Except in the hilly parts, the surface of the country has but little solidity, being every where covered with a light moss and with water. The dampness of the soil is exhaled in fogs, without rendering the air unwholesome. In other respects, the climate is very cold, which is owing either to the prodigious quantity of lakes, which cover above half the island, and remain frozen a long time, or to the number of forests, that totally intercept the rays of the sun; the effect of which is besides decreased by perpetual clouds.

THOUGH some fishermen had long resorted to Cape-Breton every summer, not more than twenty or thirty had ever fixed there. The French, who
took

took possession of it in August 1713, were properly the first inhabitants. They changed its name into that of Isle Royale, and fixed upon Fort Dauphin for their principal settlement. This harbour was two leagues in circumference. The ships, which came to the very shore, were completely sheltered from winds. Forests affording oak sufficient to build and fortify a large city, were near at hand; the ground appeared less barren than in other parts, and the fishery was more plentiful. This harbour might have been made impregnable at a trifling expence, but the difficulty of approaching it (a circumstance that had at first made a stronger impression than the advantages resulting from it), occasioned it to be abandoned after great labour had been bestowed upon it. The French then turned their views to Louisbourg, the access to which was easier, and convenience was thus preferred to security.

THE harbour of Louisbourg, situated on the eastern coast of the island, is at least a league in depth, and above a quarter of a league broad in the narrowest part. Its bottom is good, the soundings are usually from six to ten fathom, and it is easy to tack about in it either to sail in or out even in bad weather. It includes a small gulph very commodious for refitting ships of all sizes, which may even winter there, with proper precautions. The only inconvenience attending this excellent harbour is, that it is frozen up from November till May, and frequently continues so till June. The entrance, which is naturally nar-

B O O K
XVI.

row, is also guarded by Goat Island; the cannon of which playing upon a level with the surface of the water, would sink ships of any size, that should attempt to force the passage. Two batteries, one of thirty-six, the other of twelve twenty-four pounders, erected on the two opposite shores, would support and cross this formidable fire.

THE town is built on a neck of land that runs into the sea, and is about half a league in circuit; the streets are broad and regular. Almost all the houses are made of wood. Those that are of stone were constructed at the expence of the government, and are destined for the reception of the troops. A number of wharfs have been erected, that project a considerable way into the harbour, and are extremely convenient for loading and unloading the ships.

THE fortification of Louisbourg was only begun in 1720. This undertaking was executed upon very good plans, and is supplied with all the works that can render a place formidable. A space of about a hundred toises only, was left without ramparts on the side next the sea, which was thought sufficiently defended by its situation. It was closed only with a simple dyke. The sea was so shallow in this place, that it made a kind of narrow canal, inaccessible, from the number of its reefs, to any shipping whatever. The fire from the side bastions completely secured this spot from any attack.

THE necessity of bringing stone from Europe, and other materials proper for these great works, some-

sometimes retarded their progress, but never made ^{B O O K} them be discontinued. Thirty millions * were ^{XVI.} expended upon them. This was not thought too great a sum for the support of the fisheries, for securing the communication between France and Canada, and for obtaining a security or retreat to ships in time of war coming from the southern islands. Nature and sound policy required that the riches of the south should be protected by the strength of the north.

IN the year 1714, the French fishermen, who till then had lived in Newfoundland, arrived in this island. It was expected that their number would soon have been increased by the Acadians, who were at liberty, by the treaties, to remove with all their effects, and even to dispose of their estates. But these hopes were disappointed; the Acadians chose rather to retain their possessions under the dominion of England, than to give them up for any precarious advantage they might derive from their attachment to France. Their place was supplied by some distressed adventurers from Europe, who came over from time to time to Cape-Breton, and the inhabitants of the colony gradually increased to the number of four thousand. They were settled at Louisbourg, Fort Dauphin, Port Toulouse, Nericca, and on all the coasts, where they found a proper beach for drying the cod.

THE inhabitants never applied themselves to agriculture, the soil being unfit for it. They

• 1,250,000*l*.

B O O K
XVI.

have often attempted to sow corn, but it seldom came to maturity; and when it did thrive so much as to be worth reaping, it had degenerated so considerably, that it was not fit for seed for the next harvest. They have only continued to plant a few pot-herbs that are tolerably well tasted, but the seed of which must be renewed every year. The poorness and scarcity of pastures has likewise prevented the increase of cattle. In a word, the soil of Cape-Breton seemed calculated to invite none but fishermen and soldiers.

THOUGH the island was entirely covered with forests before it was inhabited, its wood has scarce ever been an object of trade. A great quantity, however, of soft wood was found there fit for firing, and some that might be used for timber; but the oak has always been very scarce, and the fir never yielded much resin.

THE peltry trade was a very inconsiderable object. It consisted only in the skins of a few lynxes, elks, musk rats, wild cats, bears, otters, and foxes, both of a red and silver grey colour. Some of these were procured from a colony of Mickmac Indians, who had settled on the island with the French, and never could raise more than sixty men able to bear arms. The rest came from St. John's, or the neighbouring continent.

GREATER advantages might possibly have been derived from the coal mines which abound in the island. They lie in a horizontal direction, and being no more than six or eight feet below the surface, may be worked without digging deep, or draining off the waters. Notwithstanding the prodigious

digious demand for this coal from New-England, from the year 1745 to the year 1749, these mines would, probably, have been forsaken, had not the ships which were sent out to the French islands wanted ballast.

THE whole industry of the colony has constantly been exerted in the cod fishery. The less wealthy inhabitants employed yearly two hundred boats in this fishery, and the richest, fifty or sixty vessels from thirty to fifty tons burden. The small craft always kept within four or five leagues of the coast, and returned at night with their fish, which being immediately cured, was always in the utmost degree of perfection it was capable of. The larger smacks went to fish further from shore, kept their cargo for several days, and as the cod was apt to be too salt, it was less valuable. But this inconvenience was compensated by the advantage it gave them of pursuing the fish, when the want of food compelled it to leave the island; and by the facility of carrying, during the autumn, the produce of their labours to the southern islands, or even to France.

BESIDE the fishermen settled on the island, others came every year from France to dry their fish, either in the habitations, in consequence of an agreement made with the owners, or upon the beach, which was always reserved for their use.

THE mother-country regularly sent them ships laden with provisions, liquors, wearing apparel, household goods, and all things necessary for the inhabitants of the colony. The largest of these ships, having no other concern but this trade, returned

BOOK
XVI.

turned to Europe as soon as they had bartered their lading for cod. Those from fifty to a hundred tons burden, after having landed their little cargo, went a-fishing themselves, and did not return till the season was over.

THE people of Cape-Breton did not send all their fish to Europe. They sent part of it to the French southern islands, on board twenty or twenty-five ships, from seventy to a hundred and forty tons burden. Beside the cod, which made at least half their cargo, they exported to the other colonies, timber, planks, thin oak boards, salted salmon and mackarel, train oil, and sea-coal. All these were paid for in sugar and coffee, but chiefly in rum and molasses.

THE island could not consume all these commodities. Canada took off but a small part of the overplus; it was chiefly bought by the people of New-England, who gave in exchange fruits, vegetables, wood, brick, and cattle. This trade of exchange was allowed, but a smuggling trade was added to it, consisting of flour, and a considerable quantity of salt fish.

NOTWITHSTANDING this circulation, which was all carried on at Louisbourg, most of the colonists were extremely poor. This was owing to the dependence their indigence had subjected them to on their first arrival. Unable to procure the necessary implements for the fishery, they had borrowed some at an excessive interest. Even those who were not at first reduced to this necessity, were soon obliged to submit to the hard terms of borrowing. The dearth of salt and
provi-

provisions, together with the ill success of their ^{BOOK} fishery, soon compelled them to it, and they were ^{XVI.} inevitably ruined by being obliged to pay twenty or five and twenty per cent. a year for every thing they borrowed.

SUCH is, at every instant, the relative situation of the indigent man who solicits assistance, and of the opulent citizen, who grants it only on terms so hard, that they become, in a short time, fatal to the borrower and to the creditor; to the borrower, because the profit he reaps from the sum borrowed cannot yield as much as it hath cost him; and to the creditor, because in the end he can no longer be paid by a debtor, whom his usury soon renders insolvent. It is a difficult matter to find out a remedy to this inconvenience; for the lender must finally have his securities, and it is necessary that the interest of the sum lent should increase in proportion to the risque of the security.

THERE is on both sides an error of calculation, which a little justice and benevolence on the part of the lender might remedy. The lender should say to himself: The unhappy man who applies to me is skilful, laborious, and æconomical; I will assist him, in order to raise him from misery. Let us see what his industry, turning out to the best advantage, will yield, and let us not lend to him; or if we should resolve to lend to him, let the interest we require upon the sum borrowed be less than the produce of his labour. If the interest and the produce were equal, the debtor would always remain in a state of misery; and
the

BOOK
XVI.

the least unexpected accident would bring on his bankruptcy, and the loss of my capital. If, on the contrary, the produce should exceed the interest, the fortune of the debtor will be annually increasing, and consequently the security of the capital I have intrusted to him will become greater. But unfortunately, a rapacious spirit doth not argue in the same manner as a spirit of prudence and humanity. There are scarce any contracts and leases between the rich and the poor, to which those principles are not applicable. If a man should wish to be paid by his farmer, in good as well as bad seasons, he must not rigorously exact from him all that his land can yield; otherwise, if his barns should be set on fire, it is at the landlord's expence that they are consumed. A desire to prosper alone often makes prosperity escape from us. It is seldom that the profit of one man can be totally separated from that of another. A man will always be the dupe of him who knowingly promises more than he can perform; while the latter will be the dupe of the former, should he be ignorant of the event. He who unites prudence with honesty, will neither deceive others, nor be deceived himself.

Settlement
of the
French in
the island
of St. John.
Tendency
of this un-
dertaking.

ALL the French colonies of New France were not from their first establishment destined to such distress. The island of St. John, more favourably situated, has been more favourable to its inhabitants. It lies further up the gulph of St. Lawrence, is twenty-two leagues long, and not much above a league at its greatest breadth. It bends in the form of a crescent, both ends terminating

nating in a sharp point. Though the right of this island had never been disputed with France, yet she seemed to pay no regard to it till the peace of Utrecht. The loss of Acadia and Newfoundland drew their attention to this small remaining spot, and the government began to inquire what use could be made of it.

It appeared that the winters were long there, the cold extreme, with abundance of snow, and prodigious quantities of insects; but that these defects were compensated by a healthy coast, a good sea-port, and commodious harbours. The country was flat, enriched with fine pastures, watered by an infinite number of rivulets and springs; the soil exceedingly diversified, and fit for the culture of every kind of grain. There was plenty of game, and multitudes of wild beasts; amazing shoals of fish of all sorts; and a greater number of savage inhabitants than were found on any other of the islands. This circumstance alone was a proof how much it was superior to the rest.

THE report that was spread of this in France, gave rise to a company in 1619, which formed the design both of clearing this fertile island, and of establishing a great cod fishery there. Unfortunately, interest, which had brought the adventurers together, set them at variance again, before they began to execute the plan they had projected. St. John was again forgotten, when the Acadians began to remove to that island in 1749. In process of time they increased to the number of three thousand one hundred and fifty-four.

BOOK
XVI.

As they were for the most part husbandmen, and particularly accustomed to the breeding of cattle, the government thought proper to confine them to this employment; and the cod fishery was only allowed to be carried on by those who settled at Tracadia and St. Peter.

PROHIBITIONS and monopolies, while they are a restraint upon industry, are equally detrimental to the labours that are permitted, and to those that are forbidden. Though the island of St. John does not afford a sufficient extent of sea-shore, fit for drying the vast quantities of cod that come in shoals to the coasts, and though the fish is too large to be easily dried, yet it was incumbent upon a power whose fisheries are not sufficient for the consumption of its own subjects, to encourage this kind of employment. If there were too few drying-places for the quantity that could be caught, that which is called green cod might easily have been prepared, which alone would have made a valuable branch of commerce.

By confining the inhabitants of St. John to agriculture, they were deprived of all resource in those unfortunate seasons that happen frequently on the island, when the crops are devoured by the field mice and grasshoppers. The exchanges which the mother-country could and ought to have made with her colony, were reduced to nothing. Lastly, in attempting to favour agriculture, its progress was obstructed, by laying the inhabitants under an impossibility of procuring the necessary articles for extending it.

ONLY

ONLY one or two small vessels came annually to the island from Europe, and landed at Port la Joie, where they were supplied with all they wanted from Louisbourg, and paid for it in wheat, barley, oats, pulse, oxen, and sheep. A party of fifty men served rather to regulate their police, than to defend them. Their commanding-officer was dependent on Cape-Breton, which was itself under the controul of the governor of Canada. The command of this last officer extended to a great distance, over a vast continent, the richest part of which was Louisiana.

THIS extensive and beautiful country, which the Spaniards formerly comprehended under the name of Florida, was for a long time unknown to the inhabitants of Canada. It was not till 1660 that such a country was supposed to exist. At this period they were told by the savages, that to the west of the colony, there was a great river, which flowed neither to the north nor to the east, and they concluded that it must therefore empty itself into the gulph of Mexico, if its course were southward, or into the South Sea, if it were westward. The care of ascertaining these two important facts was committed, in 1673, to Joliet, an inhabitant of Quebec, a very intelligent man, and to the Jesuit Marquette, whose mild and benevolent manners had secured to him the general affection of all the inhabitants.

Discovery of
the Missis-
sippi by the
French.

THESE two men, equally disinterested, equally active, and equally zealous for their country, immediately set out together from the lake Michigan, entered the river of the Foxes, which emp-

ties

B O O K ties itself into that lake, and went up almost to
XVI. the head of the river, notwithstanding the currents which render that navigation difficult. After some days march, they again embarked on the river Ouifconsing, and keeping always westward, came to the Mississippi, and sailed down that river as far as the Akanfas, about the 33d degree of latitude. Their zeal would have carried them further, but they were in want of provisions; they were in an unknown country, and they had only three or four men along with them: besides, the object of their voyage was fulfilled, since they had discovered the river they had been in search of, and were certain of its course. These considerations determined them to return to Canada, across the country of the Illinois, a numerous people, who were well inclined to a friendly intercourse with the French nation. Without concealing or exaggerating any particular, they communicated to the chief of the colony all the information they had procured.

AMONG the inhabitants of New France at that time, was a Norman, named La Salle, who was equally desirous of making a great fortune, and of establishing a brilliant reputation. This man had spent his younger years among the Jesuits, where he had contracted that activity, enthusiasm, and firmness, which those fathers so well know how to instil into their disciples, when they meet with young men of quick parts, with whom they are fond of recruiting their order. La Salle, who was a bold and enterprising man, fond of availing himself of every opportunity to distinguish

gust himself, and anxious even to seek out such opportunities, beheld in the discovery that had been made, a vast career open to his ambition and to his genius. In concert with Frontenac, governor of Canada, he embarked for Europe, went to the court of Versailles, was listened to, almost even with admiration, at a time when both the prince and the people were inspired with a passion for great actions. He returned loaded with favours, and with orders to complete what had been so fortunately begun.

B. O. O. R.
XVI.

This was a great project; but in order to render the execution of it useful and permanent, it was necessary, by forts placed at different distances, to secure the possession of the countries that separated the Mississippi from the French settlements; and to gain the affection of the colonists, either wandering or sedentary, that were contained in this vast space. These operations, slow in their nature, were still retarded by unexpected incidents; by the malevolence of the Iroquois, and by the repeated mutinies of the soldiers, who were continually irritated by the despotism and restlessness of their chief. Accordingly, La Salle, who had begun his preparations in the month of September 1678, could not sail till the second of February 1682, on the great river, which was the end of his wishes and expectations. On the 9th of April he discovered the mouth of it; which, as it had been conjectured, was in the Gulph of Mexico; and he returned to Quebec in the spring of the following year.

B' O' O' K
XVI

He immediately set out for France, to propose the discovery of the Mississippi by sea, and the establishment of a great colony upon the fertile shores watered by that river. He persuaded the court, by his eloquence or by his arguments, and four small vessels were given to him, with which he set sail towards the Gulph of Mexico. This small fleet missed the place of their destination, by steering too far westward, and arrived in the month of February 1685, in the bay of St. Bernard, distant a hundred leagues from the mouth of the river where it was intended to enter. The irreconcilable hatred which was conceived between La Salle and Beaujeu, commander of the ships, rendered this error infinitely more fatal than it ought to have been. These two haughty men, impatient of separating from each other, resolved to land the whole of their embarkation upon the very coast where they had been conducted by chance. After this desperate measure the ships went away, and there only remained upon these unknown coasts one hundred and seventy men, most of them very corrupt, and all of them displeased, not without reason, with their situation. They had but few tools, a small quantity of provisions, and little ammunition. The remainder of what was to serve for the foundation of the new state, was swallowed up by the waves, from the perfidy or wickedness of the sea-officers intrusted with the landing of them.

THE proud and unshaken soul of La Salle was not however depressed by these misfortunes. Suspecting

Suspecting that the rivers, which discharged BOOK
XVI.
 themselves in the bay where he had entered, might
 be some of the branches of the Mississippi, he
 spent several months in clearing up his doubts.
 Undeceived in these expectations, he neglected
 the object of his expedition. Instead of looking
 for guides among the savages, who would have
 directed him to the place of his destination, he
 chose to penetrate into the inland countries, and
 to inform himself of the famous mines of St.
 Barbe. He was wholly taken up with this absurd
 project, when he was massacred by some of his
 companions, who were incensed at his haughti-
 ness, and the violence of his disposition.

The death of La Salle soon occasioned the rest
 of his company to disperse. The villains who
 had murdered him fell by each other's hand.
 Several incorporated with the natives. Many
 perished by hunger and fatigue. The neighbour-
 ing Spaniards loaded some of these adventurers
 with chains, and they ended their days in the
 mines. The savages surprised the fort which had
 been erected, and sacrificed every thing to their
 fury. Seven men only escaped these numerous
 disasters; and these, wandering as far as the
 Mississippi, came to Canada by the Illinois coun-
 try. These distresses soon made the French
 lose sight of a region which was still but little
 known.

The attention of the ministry was again roused
 in 1697, by Yberville, a gentleman of Canada,
 who had distinguished himself by some very bold
 and fortunate attempts at Hudson's Bay, in Aca-

B O O K
XVI.

dia, and Newfoundland. He was sent out from Rochfort with two ships, and discovered the Mississippi in 1699. He sailed up the river as far as the country of the Natchez, and after having ascertained, by his own observation, every advantageous circumstance that had been reported of it, he constructed, at the mouth of it, a small fort, which did not continue more than four or five years, and proceeded to another spot to settle his colony.

The French settle in the country that is watered by the Mississippi, and call it Louisiana.

BETWEEN the river and Pensacola, a settlement newly erected by the Spaniards in Florida, is a coast of about forty leagues in extent, where no vessel can land. The soil is sandy and the climate burning. Nothing grows there but a few scattered cedars and fir-trees. In this large track, there is a district called Biloxi. This situation, the most barren and most inconvenient upon the whole coast, was made choice of for the residence of the few men whom Yberville had brought thither, and who had been allured by the most sanguine expectations.

Two years after a new colony arrived. The first was removed from the parched sands on which it had been settled, and they were both united upon the banks of the Mobile. This river is navigable only for Indian boats, and the lands that are watered by it are not fertile. These were sufficient motives for giving up the idea of such a settlement; which, however, was not done. It was determined that these disadvantages would be compensated by the facility of communication with the neighbouring savages,

with

with the Spaniards, with the French islands, and with Europe. The harbour which was to form these communications was not attached to the continent. It was placed, by chance, either fortunately or otherwise, at some leagues distance from the coast, in a desert, barren, and savage island, which was decorated with the great name of Dauphin Island. BOOK
XVI.

A COLONY settled on such bad foundations could not possibly prosper. The death of Yberville at sea, who perished gloriously before the Havannah in 1706, in the service of his country, put an end to the small remaining hopes of the most sanguine colonists. France was so deeply engaged in an unhappy war, that no assistance could be expected from her. The colonists thought themselves totally forsaken, and those who entertained some hopes of finding a settlement in another place, hastened to go in search of it. The colony was reduced to twenty-eight families, each more wretched than the other, when, to the astonishment of every one, Crosat petitioned for and obtained the exclusive trade of Louisiana in 1712.

THIS was a famous merchant, who by his vast and prudent undertakings had raised an immense fortune. He had not given up the thoughts of increasing his wealth, but he was desirous that his new projects should contribute to the prosperity of the monarchy. This noble ambition made him turn his views towards the Mississippi. The clearing of its fertile soil was not his

BOOK
XVI.

am. His intention was to open communications, both by land and sea, with Old and New Mexico, to pour all kinds of merchandise into those parts, and to draw from thence as much ore as he could. The place he asked for, appeared to him to be the natural and necessary mart for his vast operations; and all the steps taken by his agents were regulated upon this noble plan. But being undeceived by several unsuccessful attempts, he relinquished his scheme, and, in 1717, resigned his charter to a company whose success astonished all nations.

Louisiana becomes very famous in the time of Law's system. Reason of this.

THIS company was formed by Law, that celebrated Scotchman, of whom no settled judgment could be formed at the time he appeared, but whose name now stands between the crowd of mere adventurers and the short list of great men. This daring genius had made it his business, from his infancy, to observe attentively the several powers of Europe, to examine their various springs, and to calculate the strength of each. The state into which the inordinate ambition of Louis XIV. had plunged the kingdom of France, particularly attracted his attention, which was now fixed upon a heap of ruins. An empire, which during the space of forty years had excited so much jealousy and so much anxiety among all its neighbours, no longer displayed any degree of vigour or animation. The nation was exhausted by the demands of the treasury, and the treasury by the enormity of their engagements. In vain had the public debts been reduced,

duced, in hopes of enhancing the value of those that still remained. This bankruptcy of government had but imperfectly produced that kind of good that was expected from it. The bills of government were still infinitely below their original value: BOOK
XVI

It became necessary to open a mart for these bills, to prevent them from falling into total discredit. The mode of reimbursement was impracticable; for the interest for the sums due; absorbed, almost entirely, the revenues of government. Law contrived another expedient. In the month of August 1717, he established, under the title of the Western Company, an association whose funds were to consist in government bills. This paper was received for its whole value, although it lost fifty per cent. in the course of trade. Accordingly, the capital, which was only of 100,000,000 of livres*, was completed in a few days. It is true, that with these singular proceedings, it was not possible to found a powerful colony in Louisiana, as the exclusive charter seemed to require: but the author of these novelties was supported by an expectation of another kind.

No sooner had Ponce de Leon landed at Florida, in 1512, than a rumour was spread, throughout the Old and the New World, that this region was full of metals. These had not been discovered, either by Francis de Cordova, or by Velasquez de Ayllon, or by Philip de Narvaez,

* 4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.

B O O K or by Ferdinand de Soto, although these enter-
XVI
 prising men had searched for them with incredible fatigue during thirty years. Spain had at length renounced these hopes; she had not even left any trace of her enterprises; and notwithstanding this, a vague report had remained among the minds of the people, that these countries concealed immense treasures. No one pointed out the precise spot where these riches might lie; but this circumstance itself tended to encourage the exaggeration of them. If at intervals the enthusiasm grew cooler, it was only to seize upon the minds of men more powerfully some time after. This general disposition towards an eager credulity, might become a wonderful instrument in the hands of skilful persons.

In times of misfortune, the people are agitated by their hopes, in the same manner as they are by their fears, or by their rage. When they are actuated with rage, all the public places are in an instant filled with a multitude in commotion, which threatens and roars aloud. The citizen shuts himself up in his house; the magistrate trembles on his tribunal, the sovereign is oppressed with anxiety in his palace. When night comes on, the tumult ceases and tranquillity is restored. When the people are under the impression of terror, universal consternation diffuses itself in an instant from one city to another, and plunges the whole nation into a state of despondency. When the people are elated with hopes, the phantom of happiness presents itself not less rapidly on all sides. It raises the spirits of all
 10 men,

men, and the noisy transports of joy succeed to the gloomy silence of misfortune. On one day every thing is lost, on the other all is saved.

BOOK
XVI.

Of all the passions that are kindled in the heart of man, there is none which is so violent in its intoxication as the passion for gold. We are all acquainted with the country where the most beautiful women are to be found, and yet we are not tempted to visit it. Sedentary ambition exerts itself in a narrow compass. The rage of conquest is the malady of a single man, who draws the multitude after him. But let us suppose all the people of the earth to be equally civilized, and the thirst of gold will displace the inhabitants of one and of the other hemisphere. Setting out from the two extremities of the diameter of the equator, they will cross each other in their way from one pole to the other.

Law, to whom this great spring of action was well known, easily persuaded the French, who were most of them ruined, that the mines of Louisiana, which had so long been spoken of, were at length discovered; and that they were even far richer than they were generally supposed to be. To give the greater weight to this false report, which had already gained too much credit, a number of miners were sent over to work these mines, which were imagined to be so valuable, with a body of troops sufficient to defend them.

It is inconceivable what a sudden impression this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty. Every man exerted himself to acquire

§ 66 **XV** quire the right of partaking of the source of wealth, which was considered as inexhaustible.

The Mississippi became the centre of all rich's wishes, hopes, and speculations. It was not long before some wealthy and powerful men, most of whom were thought to be persons of understanding, not satisfied with sharing the general profits of the monopoly, became desirous of obtaining a private property in a region which passed for one of the best countries in the world. Cultivators were wanted for the clearing of those domains; and were abundantly supplied by France, Switzerland, and Germany. These men, after having worked three years without salary, for the persons who had been at the expence of conveying them to the spot, were to become citizens, and be put in possession of lands, in order to clear them on their own account.

DURING the course of this frenzy, or in the years 1718 and 1719, all these unfortunate people were promiscuously crowded together in ships. They were not landed at Dauphin Island, the harbour of which had lately been choked up by sands; nor were they set on shore at Mobile, which had lost every thing since it had lost its port: but it was at Biloxi, that dreadful spot, where all the natives, as well as foreigners who had been seduced, were placed. There they all perished by thousands, with want and vexation. In order to preserve them, it was only necessary to have conveyed them up the Mississippi, and landed them immediately upon the country they were to clear; but such was the unskilfulness or neglect

neglect of the managers of the enterprise; that they never thought of constructing the boats necessary for so simple a manœuvre. Even after they found that the ships coming from Europe could most of them sail up the river, Biloxi still continued to be the grave of those unhappy and numerous victims who had fallen a sacrifice to a political imposture. The head-quarters were not removed to New-Orleans till five years after, that is, till hardly any were left of those unfortunate people who had been weak enough to quit their native country upon such uncertain prospects.

BUT at this period, when it was too late, the charm was dissolved, and the mines vanished. Nothing remained but the shame of having been misled by chimerical notions. Louisiana shared the fate of those extraordinary men who have been too highly extolled, and are afterwards punished for this unmerited fame, by being degraded below their real worth. Men strive, by the excess of censure, to persuade others that they have not given into the common error; for how can it be supposed that they would violently persist in speaking ill of themselves? This enchanted country was now holden in execration. Its very name became a reproach. The Mississippi was the terror of free men. No recruits were to be found to send thither, but such as were taken from prisons and houses of ill fame. It became the receptacle of the lowest and most profligate persons in the kingdom.

WHAT could be expected from a settlement composed of such persons? Vicious men will neither

BOOK
XVI

their people a country, nor labour, nor continue long in any place. Many of those miserable persons who had been transported into these savage climates, went into the English or Spanish settlements, to exhibit the disagreeable view of their distress and misery. Others soon perished, from the infection they had brought along with them. The greater number wandered in the woods, till hunger and weariness put an end to their existence. Nothing was yet begun in the colony, though twenty-five millions of livres * had been sunk there. The managers of the company that advanced these vast sums, foolishly pretended, that in the capital of France they could lay the plan of such undertakings as were fit for America. Paris, unacquainted with its own provinces, which it despises and exhausts, would have submitted every thing to the operations of these hasty and frivolous calculators. From the office of the company, they pretended to regulate and direct all the inhabitants of Louisiana, and to impose or withhold such restraints as were judged favourable or unfavourable to the monopoly. Had they granted some trifling encouragements to citizens of character, who might have been invited to settle in the colony, by securing to them that liberty which every man covets, that property which every man has a right to expect from his own labour, and that protection which is due from every society to its members; such encouragements as these, given to proprietors

* 1,041,666 l. 13s. 4d.

well informed of their real interest and property, BOOK
XVI. directed by the circumstances of the place, would have been productive of far greater and more lasting effects; and would have established more extensive, solid, and profitable settlements, than all those an exclusive charter could ever have formed with all its treasures, dispensed and managed by agents who could neither have the knowledge requisite to conduct so many various operations, nor even be influenced by any immediate interest in their success.

THE ministry, however, thought it conducive to the welfare of the state, to leave the concerns of Louisiana in the hands of the company; which were under a necessity of exerting all their interest to obtain permission to alienate that part of their privilege. They were even obliged to purchase this favour in 1731, by paying down the sum of 1,450,000 livres*. For there are some states, where the right of being involved in ruin, and that of being preserved from it, or that of acquiring wealth, are equally sold; because good or evil, whether public or private, may prove an object of finance.

DURING all the time that an exclusive charter had kept Louisiana in shackles, it had required, according to the distances, fifty, sixty, fourscore, and a hundred per cent. profit, upon all the merchandise which it used to send there; and had also regulated, by a rate still more oppressive, the price of the commodities which the colony deli-

* 60,416l. 13s. 4d.

BOOK
XVI.

verted to it. How was it possible that an infant settlement could make any progress under the yoke of a tyranny so atrocious? Accordingly, the discouragement became universal. To restore to the minds of men their energy, government was desirous that a possession, which was become a truly national one, should experience a happier fate. With this view they decreed, that every article which the trade of France should convey into this country, and every thing it should bring back from thence, should be exempted for ten years from all duties of export and import. Let us see to what degree of prosperity an arrangement so prudent raised this celebrated region.

Extent, soil,
and climate
of Louisiana.

LOUISIANA is a vast country, bounded on the north by the sea; on the east by Florida and Carolina; on the west by New Mexico; and on the north by Canada, and by unknown lands, which are supposed to extend as far as Hudson's Bay. It is impossible to ascertain precisely the exact length of it; but its mean breadth is two hundred leagues.

THROUGHOUT such an extent, the climate varies considerably. Fogs are too frequent in Lower Louisiana, in spring and autumn; the winters are rainy, and at distant intervals attended with a slight frost: most of the summer days are spoilt by violent storms. The heats are not so excessive in any part of this extensive territory as might be expected from its latitude. This phenomenon, which seems extraordinary to a common observer, may be accounted for by natural philosophers, from

from the thick forests, which prevent the rays of the sun from heating the ground; the numerous rivers, which keep it constantly damp; and the winds, which blow from the north over a long extent of land.

Thoum diseases are not very common in Upper Louisiana; they are still more unfrequent in the Lower. This is, however, nothing more than a slip of land of two or three leagues in extent, overrun with insects, with stagnated waters, and with vegetable substances, which putrify in a damp and warm atmosphere, the constant principle of the dissolution of bodies. In this climate, where all dead bodies generally undergo a rapid putrefaction, men enjoy a more settled state of health, than in those regions which to all appearance are more healthy. Except the tetanos, which carries off half the Negro children before they are twelve days old, and a great number of white children, there is scarce any disease known in that country, except some hysterical affections, and obstructions, which may even be considered as a natural consequence of the kind of life which is led there. From whence can the salubrity of the air proceed? Perhaps it is owing to the frequent thunders which are heard upon this narrow soil. Perhaps to the winds which almost constantly prevail there. Perhaps to the fires which it is necessary to kindle in order to destroy the numerous reeds which impede the cultures.

This soil must have appeared extremely fertile, before any trials had been made of it, since it abounded with wild fruits. It furnished a liberal

beral provision for a great number of birds and fallow-deer. The meadows, formed by nature alone, were covered with roebucks and bisons. The trees were remarkable for their bulk and height, and woods for dying were only wanting, for those grow merely between the tropics. These favourable omens have been since confirmed by fortunate experiments.

THE source of the river which divides this immense country from north to south, hath not yet been discovered. The boldest travellers have scarce gone higher than two hundred leagues above the fall of St. Anthony, which stops the course of it by a cascade of some height, about the 46th degree of latitude. From thence to the sea, that is, throughout the space of 700 leagues, the navigation is not interrupted. The Mississippi, after being enlarged by the river of the Illinois, the Missouri, the Ohio, and a great number of small rivers, maintains an uninterrupted course, till it falls into the ocean. All circumstances concur to prove, that the bed of this river is considerably extended, and that its bottom is almost recent ground, since not a single stone is to be found in it. The sea throws up here a prodigious quantity of mud, leaves of reeds, boughs and stumps of trees, that the Mississippi is continually washing down; which different materials being driven backward and forward, and being collected together, form themselves into a solid mass, continually tending to the prolongation of this vast continent.

This river hath not any regular periods of increase or decrease; but, in general, its waters are higher from the month of January to that of June, than they are through the rest of the year. The bed of the river being very deep at the upper part, it seldom overflows on the east side, till it comes within sixty leagues of the sea, nor on the west, till within a hundred leagues; that is to say, in the low lands, which we imagine to be recent. These muddy grounds, like all others that have not yet acquired a due consistence, produce a prodigious quantity of large reeds, in which all extraneous bodies washed down the river are entangled. These bodies all joining together, and added to the slime that fills up the interstices, in process of time form a mass, that raises the banks higher than the adjacent ground, which forms on each side an inclined plain. Hence it happens, that the waters having once got out of their natural course, never get into it again, and are therefore obliged to run on to the ocean, or to form themselves into small lakes.

When the breadth and depth of the Mississippi are alone considered, we are induced to think that the navigation is easy. It is, on the contrary, very tedious, even in coming down; because it would be dangerous by night in dark weather, and because instead of the light canoes made of bark, which are so convenient in the rest of America, it is necessary to employ larger boats, which are consequently heavier, and not so easily managed. Without these precautions,

B O O K
XVI.

the boats would be in continual danger of striking against the boughs or roots of trees, which are dragged along in great quantities by the stream, and are frequently fixed under water. The difficulties are greater still in going up the river.

At some distance from land, before we enter the Mississippi, care must be taken to keep clear of the floating wood that is come down from Louisiana. The coast is so flat; that it can hardly be seen at the distance of two leagues, and it is not easy to get up to it. The river empties itself into the sea by a great number of openings. These openings are constantly varying, and most of them have but little depth of water. When the ships have happily surmounted all these obstacles, they may sail without any difficulty ten or twelve leagues, over a country sunk under water, where the eye perceives nothing but reeds, and a few shrubs. Then, upon each shore, they meet with thick forests, which they pass by in two or three days, unless calms, which are rather frequent in summer, should retard their progress. The rest of the navigation, upon a stream so rapid, and so full of currents, is performed in boats that go with oars and sails, and are forced to pass on from one point of land to another; and though they set out by break of day, are thought to have made a considerable progress, if they have advanced five or six leagues by the close of the evening. The Europeans engaged in this navigation, are attended by some Indian hunters, who follow by land, and supply them with subsistence during the three months and a half that are employed in

in going from one extremity of the colony to the other. BOOK
XVI.

THESE difficulties of situation are the greatest which the French have had to surmount in forming settlements at Louisiana.

THE English, settled in the East, have been always so assiduously employed in their plantations, that they have never thought of any thing but of extending and improving them. The spirit of conquest or of plunder hath not diverted them from their labours. Had they been inclined to jealousy, the French did not behave so as to excite it.

THE Spaniards, unfortunately for themselves, were more turbulent in the West. The desire of removing an active neighbour from New Mexico induced them, in 1720, to adopt the scheme of forming a considerable colony far beyond the boundaries within which they had hitherto confined themselves. The numerous caravans that were to compose this colony set out from Santa Fé. They directed their march towards the Ozages, whom they wished to induce to take up arms against their eternal enemies, the Missourys, whose territory they had resolved to occupy. The Spaniards missed their way, and came directly to that nation the ruin of which they were meditating; and mistaking these Indians for the Ozages, communicated their design without any reserve.

THE chief of the Missourys, who became acquainted, by this singular mistake, with the danger that threatened him and his people, dissem-

B O O K
XVI.

bled his resentment. He told the Spaniards, he would gladly concur in promoting the success of their undertaking, and only desired eight-and-forty hours to assemble his warriors. When they were armed, to the number of two thousand, they fell upon the Spaniards, whom they had amused with sports, and slew them in their sleep. All were massacred, without distinction of age or sex. The chaplain, who alone escaped the slaughter, owed his preservation to the singularity of his dress. This catastrophe having secured the tranquillity of Louisiana, on the side where it was most threatened, the colony could only be molested by the natives; but these, although more numerous at that time than they are in our days, were still not very formidable.

General
character of
the savages
of Louisi-
ana, and of
the Natchez
in particu-
lar.

THESE savages were divided into several nations, all of them very feeble, and all at enmity with each other, though separated by immense deserts. Some of them had a fixed abode. Their dwellings were only made of leaves interwoven with each other, and fastened to a number of stakes. Those who did not go quite naked, were only covered with the skins of fallow-deer. They lived upon the produce of hunting and fishing, upon maize, and some fruits. Their customs were nearly the same as those of the savages of Canada, but they had not the same degree of strength and courage, of quickness and sagacity; and their character was less marked.

AMONG these nations, the Natchez were the most remarkable. They paid obedience to one man, who styled himself GREAT SUN; because

because he bore upon his breast the image of ^{B O O K} that luminary, from which he claimed his descent. ^{XVI.} The whole business of government, war, and religion, depended upon him. All the world could not perhaps have produced a sovereign more absolute. His wife enjoyed the same authority and the same honours. When any of these enslaved savages had the misfortune to displease either of these masters, they used to say to their guards, *Rid me of that dog*, and were instantly obeyed. Every thing of the best that was afforded by hunting, fishing, or culture, the savages were compelled to bring to them. On the demise of either the husband or the wife, it was necessary that many of their subjects should also die, that they might attend and serve them in the next world. The religion of the Natchez was limited to the adoration of the Sun: but this belief was accompanied with many ceremonies, and consequently attended with mischievous effects. There was, however, but one temple for the whole nation: it was once set on flames by the fire which is perpetually, or at least habitually, kept in it; and this event occasioned a general consternation. Many fruitless efforts were made to stop the progress of the flames. Some mothers threw their children into them, and at length the fire was extinguished. The next day these barbarous heroines were extolled in a discourse delivered by the despotic pontiff. It is thus that his authority was maintained. It is astonishing how so poor and so savage a people could be so cruelly enslaved. But superstition accounts for all the

BOOK
XVI.

unreasonable actions of men. That alone could deprive a nation of its liberty, which had little else to lose.

MOST of the accounts affirm, upon the uncertain faith of some tradition, that the Natchez occupied for a long time the eastern coast of the Mississippi, from the river Yberville to the Ohio; that is to say, a space of four hundred leagues. In that case they must have formed the most flourishing nation of North America. It may be suspected, that the yoke under which they were kept by an oppressive and arbitrary government, disgusted them of their native country. They must have dispersed themselves: and this opinion seems to be in some measure confirmed by the circumstance of our finding various traces of their worship at great distances in these regions. It is certain, that when the French appeared in Louisiana, this people consisted of no more than two thousand warriors, and formed only a few towns, situated at a considerable distance from each other, but all of them near the Mississippi.

THIS want of population did not prevent the country of the Natchez from being excellent. The climate is wholesome and temperate; the soil susceptible of rich and varied cultures; the territory sufficiently elevated to preclude all fears from the inundations of the river. This country is generally open, extensive, well-watered, and covered with pleasant hillocks, agreeable meadows, and delicious woods, as far as the Appalachian mountains. Accordingly, the first Frenchmen who came there, judged that, notwithstanding
its

its distance from the sea, this would become in time the centre of the colony. This opinion drew numbers of them to this spot. They were favourably received by the savages, and assisted in the settlement of the plantations which they wanted to establish. Exchanges that were reciprocally useful, laid the foundation of a friendship apparently sincere between the two nations. It might have become permanent, had not the ties of it been daily weakened by the avidity of the Europeans. These foreigners had at first demanded the productions of the country only as honest merchants, but afterwards imperiously dictated the conditions of the trade, and at length seized upon what they were tired of paying for, even at a low price. Their audacity increased to such a degree as to expel the natives from the fields they had tilled themselves.

THIS tyranny was atrocious. In vain did the Natchez endeavour to put a stop to it by the most humiliating supplications. Driven to despair, they endeavoured to engage in their resentment all the eastern nations, whose dispositions they were acquainted with, and towards the latter end of the year 1729 they succeeded in forming an almost universal league, the purport of which was, to exterminate in one day the whole race of their oppressors. This negotiation was carried on with such success as not to be discovered either by the savages who were friends to the French, or by the French themselves. Nothing but some casually fortunate event could prevent the success of the plot, and this event took place.

Natchez sent to the conspiring nations, who were not better acquainted with the art of writing than themselves, some parcels, consisting of an equal number of bits of wood. That there might be no mistake made respecting the time when the common hatred was to break out, it was agreed, that one of these bits of wood should be burnt every day in each town, and the last was to be the signal for the bloody scene that was to be exhibited. It happened that the wife or the mother of the great chief was informed of the plot by a son she had by a Frenchman. She several times warned the officer of that nation who commanded in the neighbourhood, of the circumstance. The indifference or the contempt that was shewn for her advice did not stifle in her heart the affection she had for these foreigners. Her rank intitled her to enter the temple of the Sun at any hour she chose. This prerogative put it in her power to carry off successively the bits of wood which had been deposited in it, and she determined to do it in order to disturb the calculations of the conspirators, at the hazard of hastening, since it was necessary, the destruction of the Frenchmen, she was fond of, in order to insure the safety of the rest who were unknown to her. Every thing happened as she expected. At the signal agreed upon, the Natchez fell unawares upon the enemy, not doubting but all their allies were at the same time engaged in the same business; but as there had been no treason any where else, every thing remained quiet, as it must necessarily have done.

THIS

THIS account appears very fabulous; but it is very certain, that the period agreed upon between the members of the confederacy to deliver Louisiana from a foreign yoke, was forestalled by the Natchez. They were perhaps not able to contain their hatred any longer. They were perhaps seduced by meeting with unexpected facility in the execution of their design. Perhaps they were properly or improperly apprehensive that their intentions began to be suspected. It is a certain fact, however, that of two hundred and twenty-two French, who were then in this settlement, two hundred were massacred; that the women who were pregnant, or who had young children, did not share a more fortunate destiny; and that the rest, who remained prisoners, were exposed to the brutality of the murderers of their sons and of their husbands.

THE whole colony thought themselves lost upon the first news of this event. They had nothing to oppose to a number of enemies threatening them on all sides, except a few half-rotten pallisades, and a few vagabonds badly armed and ill disciplined. Perrier, in whom the authority was vested, had not a better opinion of the situation of affairs. However, he shewed a firm countenance, and this boldness served him instead of forces. The savages thought him not only able to defend himself, but also to attack them. In order to dispel the suspicions that might have been conceived against them, or in hopes of obtaining a pardon, several of these nations joined their

B. Q. O. K. XVI. their warriors to his, in order to assist in his revenge.

OTHER troops were wanting, beside ill-affected allies or soldiers, forced into the service, to have insured success. This militia marched towards the country of the Natchez, with a degree of slowness which afforded no good omen, and they attacked the forts with that indifference from which no good effect could be expected. Fortunately, the besieged offered to release all the prisoners they had in their possession, if the troops would withdraw; and this proposal was acceded to with extreme joy.

BUT Perrier, having received some reinforcements from Europe, recommenced hostilities, in the beginning of the year 1731. The prospect of this new danger spread dissensions among the Natchez, and this misunderstanding brought on the ruin of the whole nation. A few feeble corps of these savages were put to the sword, and a great number were sent slaves to St. Domingo. Those who escaped slavery or death, took refuge among the Chickasaws.

THESE were the most intrepid people of those regions: their intimate connections with the English were well known, and their favourite virtue was hospitality. All these reasons prevented the French at first from requiring them to deliver up the Natchez, to whom they had afforded refuge. But Bienville, who succeeded Perrier, thought himself authorized to demand the cession of them. The Chickasaws, with courage

rage and indignation, refused to comply. Both sides took up arms in 1736. The French were defeated in the open field, and driven back with loss under the pallisades of their enemy. They tried their fortune again four years after, encouraged by some succours they had received from Canada. They were upon the point of being defeated a second time, when some fortunate incident brought on a reconciliation with these savages. Since that period, the tranquillity of Louisiana hath never been disturbed. Let us now see to what degree of prosperity this long peace hath raised the colony.

THE coasts of Louisiana, which are all situated upon the gulph of Mexico, are in general flat, and covered with a barren sand. They are neither inhabited, nor capable of being so. No forts have ever been erected upon them.

Settlements
formed by
the French
in Louisiana.

THOUGH the French must have been desirous of drawing near to Mexico, they have formed no settlement upon the coast which lies to the west of the Mississippi. They were undoubtedly apprehensive of offending the Spaniards, who would not patiently have suffered them in this neighbourhood.

To the east of the river is situated Fort Mobile, on the banks of a river which derives its source from the Apalachian mountains. It served to maintain the Chactaws, the Alimabous, and other less numerous colonies in alliance with the French, and to secure their fur trade. The Spaniards of Pensacola drew some provisions and merchandise from this settlement.

BOOK
XVI.

THERE are a great number of outlets at the mouth of the Mississippi, which are always varying. Many of them are entirely dry at times. Some can only admit canoes or sloops. That towards the east, the only one frequented at present by ships, is very tortuous, affords only a very narrow passage, and hath no more than eleven or twelve feet of water in the highest tides. The small fort called La Balise, which formerly defended the mouth of the river, is no longer of any use since its canal hath been filled up, and since the ships sail out of the reach of its cannon.

NEW ORLEANS, situated at the distance of thirty leagues from the sea, is the first settlement that presents itself. This city, which was intended for a staple to carry on all the intercourse between the mother-country and the colony, was built upon the eastern border of the river, round a crescent, which is accessible to all ships, and where they ride in perfect safety. The foundations of it were laid in 1717; but it was not till 1722 that it had made any progress, and became the capital of Louisiana. Its population never consisted of more than sixteen hundred inhabitants, partly free men and partly slaves. The huts which originally covered it have been successively transformed into convenient houses, but built with wood upon bricks, because the soil was not sufficiently firm to support heavier buildings.

THE city is placed on an island, which is sixty leagues in length, and hath a moderate breadth. This island, the greatest part of which is not susceptible of culture, is formed by the ocean, by
the

the river Mississippi, by the lake Pontchartrain, BOOK
XVI and by the Manchac, or the river of Yberville, a canal which the Mississippi hath digged for itself, in order to pour into it the superfluous part of its waters, in the season when they most abound. There may be upon this territory about a hundred plantations, upon which are found four or five hundred white men, and four thousand Negroes, principally employed in the culture of indigo. A few enterprising proprietors have endeavoured to grow sugar there; but some trifling frosts, which are fatal to this rich production, have rendered this attempt ineffectual. The plantations are seldom contiguous to each other, but are mostly separated by stagnating waters and morasses, especially in the interior part of the island.

OPPOSITE to New Orleans, and on the western shore of the Mississippi, were settled, in 1722, three hundred Germans, the unfortunate remains of several thousand who had been removed from their country. Their number hath trebled since that period, which is not a very distant one, because they have always been the most laborious men of the colony. Assisted by about two thousand slaves, they cultivate maize for their food, and rice and indigo for exportation. They formerly attended to the culture of cotton; but they have abandoned it since it has been found too short for the European manufactures.

A LITTLE higher up, on the same coast, eight hundred Acadians were situated, who had arrived in Louisiana immediately after the last peace. Their

BOOK
XVI.

Their labours have been hitherto confined to the breeding of cattle, and to the cultivation of articles of primary necessity. If their means should increase, they will attend to the production of vendible commodities.

ALL those productions which enrich the lower part of the colony, terminate at the settlement of the *Pointe coupée*, formed at the distance of forty-five leagues from New Orleans. It furnishes moreover the greatest part of the tobacco that is consumed in the country, and a great deal of wood for foreign trade. These labours employ five or six hundred white men and twelve hundred Negroes.

THROUGHOUT the whole extent of the lands which are cultivated in these several settlements belonging to Lower Louisiana, there runs a causeway destined to secure it from the inundations of the river. Large and deep ditches, which surround every field, afford an issue to the waters which would either have penetrated or risen above the dyke. This soil is entirely muddy; and when it is to be cultivated, the large reeds which cover it are cut at the bottom. As soon as they are dry they are set on fire. Then, however lightly the earth be turned up, it becomes fertile in all productions requiring a damp soil. Corn does not thrive upon it; for the blades grow, but contain no seed. Most of the fruit trees succeed no better; they grow up very fast, and are in blossom twice in a year; but the fruit which is attacked by the worms, dries and generally falls off before it is ripe. The peach, the orange, and the fig-tree,

tree, are the only ones, the fertility of which cannot be too much extolled.

B O O K
XVI.

THE nature of the country is very different in Upper Louisiana. To the east of the Mississippi, this district begins a little above the river of Yberville. Its territory, which hath been anciently formed, is sufficiently raised to be free from inundations, and hath only a proper degree of moisture; it therefore requires less care, and promises a greater variety of productions. This was the opinion of the first Frenchmen who appeared in these countries. They settled in the district of the Natchez, and after having attempted several cultures which were all successful, confined themselves to that of tobacco, which soon acquired in the mother-country the reputation it deserved. Government expected soon to receive from this settlement a sufficient quantity for the supply of the whole monarchy, when the tyranny of its agents occasioned its ruin. Since this fatal period, this inexhaustible soil hath remained uncultivated, till Great Britain, having acquired the property of it by treaties, shall have conveyed there a population sufficient to fertilize it.

A LITTLE higher up, but on the western shore, the Red river empties itself into the Mississippi. It is at thirty leagues distance from the mouth of it, and upon the territory of the Natchitoches, that the French on their arrival in Louisiana erected a few pallisades. The object of this post was to draw from New Mexico the sheep and horned cattle, which a rising colony is always in want

BOOK
XVI.

want of; and it was also to open a smuggling trade with the Spanish fort of the Adages, which is only seven leagues distant. It is long since the multiplication of the cattle in those fields, to which it was necessary to accustom them, hath put an end to the first of these connections; and it was still earlier understood, that the latter, with one of the poorest settlements in the world, could never have any real utility. Accordingly, the territory of the Natchitoches was soon forsaken by those whom the hopes of making a great fortune had drawn there. Upon this district there are only now to be seen the descendants of a few soldiers, who have settled there at the end of the time they were engaged for in the service. Their number does not exceed two hundred. They live upon maize, or upon the vegetables which they cultivate, and sell the superfluous part of their productions to their indolent neighbours. The money they receive from this feeble garrison, enables them to pay for the liquors and the clothing which they are obliged to get from elsewhere.

THE settlement formed among the Akanfas is still more wretched. It would infallibly have become very flourishing, if the troops, the arms, the bondsmen, the provisions, and the merchandise, which Law had sent there on his own private account, had not been first confiscated after the disgrace of that enterprising man. Since that time some few Canadians only have settled upon this excellent soil, who have taken to themselves wives among the women of the country.

From these connections hath soon arisen an almost savage race, consisting only of a few families, living separate from each other, and scarce attending to any other employment except that of the chase.

BOOK
XVI.

To go from the Akansas to the Illinois country, it is necessary to travel three hundred leagues: for the nations in America are not contiguous to each other, as they are in Europe, and are therefore the more independent. They have no chiefs connected among themselves, alternately to seize upon, or to sacrifice them, and to render them so unhappy, that they shall have nothing to gain or to lose, by a change of country and of master. The Illinois, situated in the most northern part of Louisiana, were continually beaten, and always upon the point of being destroyed by the Iroquois, or by other warlike nations. They stood in need of a defender; and the French took that part upon themselves, by occupying a portion of their territory, at the mouth of their river, and upon the more pleasant and more fruitful banks of the Mississippi. Under this protection, the Illinois have avoided the destiny of most of the nations in the New World, of whom there scarce remains any remembrance. Nevertheless, their number hath diminished, in proportion as that of their protectors hath increased. These foreigners have gradually formed a population of two thousand three hundred and fourscore free persons, and of eight hundred slaves, distributed in six villages,

B O O K five of which are situated upon the eastern border
XVI. of the river.

UNFORTUNATELY, most of these people have entertained a passion for running about the woods to buy up the peltries, or have indulged themselves with remaining in their warehouses, waiting till the savages brought them the produce of their chase. They would have worked more usefully for themselves, for the colony, and for France, had they digged the excellent soil upon which chance had placed them; and had they required of it the several kinds of corn produced in the Old World, which Louisiana hath been obliged to draw from Europe, or from North America. But how much hath the settlement formed by the French in the country of the Illinois, and how much have their other settlements, fallen short of this prosperity?

NEVER did the colony, in its greatest splendour, reckon more than seven thousand Negroes, exclusive of the troops, the number of which varied, from three hundred to two thousand men. This feeble population was scattered along the borders of the Mississippi, throughout a space of five hundred leagues; and was defended by a few small forts, situated at an immense distance from each other. Nevertheless, these men were not descended from that scum of Europe, which France had, as it were, vomited forth into the New World at the time of Law's system. All those miserable men had perished, without leaving any issue. The colonists were robust men,
arrived

arrived from Canada, or disbanded soldiers, who had sensibly preferred the labours of agriculture to a life of idleness, in which prejudice and pride had confirmed them. Every inhabitant received from government a suitable piece of ground, with seed to sow it, a gun, an ax, a mattock, a cow and a calf, a cock and six hens, with a plentiful supply of wholesome provisions for three years. Some officers, and some rich men, had formed considerable plantations, which occupied eight thousand slaves.

BOOK
XVI.

THIS colony sent to France fourscore thousand weight of indigo, some hides, and much peltry: It sent to the islands, tallow, smoked meats, pulse, rice, maize, pitch, tar, and timber for ships and for house-building. These several articles collected, might be worth 2,000,000 of livres *. This sum was paid for in European merchandise, and in the productions of the East Indies. The colony even received more than it gave, and derived this singular advantage from the expences of sovereignty.

THE public expences were always too considerable at Louisiana. They often exceeded, even in times of full peace, the whole produce of the settlement. Perhaps the agents of government would have been more circumspect, had the business been transacted with money. The unfortunate facility of paying every thing with bills, which were not to be discharged till their arrival in the mother-country, rendered them generally

* 85,333l. 6s. 8d.

B O O K
XVI.

lavish, and some of them were even dishonest. For their own private emoluments, they ordered the construction of forts, which were of no kind of use, and which cost twenty times more than they ought to have done. They multiplied, without reason, as without measure, the annual presents which the court of Versailles were accustomed to send to the savage tribes.

THE exports and imports of Louisiana were not carried on upon ships belonging to itself; for it had never thought of having one single vessel. Sometimes it received some feeble embarkations from the ports of France, and sometimes large boats from the sugar islands. But most frequently, ships dispatched from the mother-country to St. Domingo, left part of their cargo in this rich settlement; and after having sold the rest of it in the Mississippi, used to load themselves, on their return to it, with every thing that might be wanted at St. Domingo, or which might be suitable to the mother-country.

France might have derived great advantages from Louisiana. Faults that have impeded this success.

LOUISIANA, which nature seemed to invite to a great degree of prosperity, would undoubtedly have attained to it, if government had had the prudence to attend to the wishes of the French Protestants, who had taken refuge in the colonies settled by the English to the North of the New World.

UNDER the most brilliant reign, and at the most fortunate period of that reign, three hundred thousand Calvinist families were enjoying peaceably in France, the rights of men and of citizens:

citizens: rights which had been confirmed to them by the famous edict, which had quieted so many troubles, and put an end to so many calamities, the edict of Nantes. Louis XIV. the terror of his neighbours and the idol of his subjects, had neither enemies to fear without, nor rebels within his, provinces. The Protestants, quiet from motives of duty as well as interest, thought of nothing but serving the state, and of contributing towards its power and its glory. They were placed at the head of several new manufactures; and being dispersed in the maritime countries, a navy, which was formidable in its infancy, derived its principal strength from them. Where an easy and decent competency prevails, the fruit of labour and of industry, there we generally meet with good morals. The Protestants, in particular, were distinguished by them, because they were the least numerous and most laborious of the subjects, and because they had to justify their faith by their virtues.

EVERY thing, I say again, was quiet in the interior part of the kingdom: but sacerdotal pride and pharisaical ambition were not so. The clergy of France, Rome, and the Jesuits, were continually importuning the throne with their scandalous remonstrances. It was represented, that Frenchmen who did not humble themselves before a confessor; who saw nothing but bread in the consecrated host; who never said mass; who never brought any offering to the altar; who married their cousins without purchasing dispensations; it was represented, that such Frenchmen

BOOK
XVI.

could not love their country nor their sovereign. It was said, that they were in fact nothing more than traitors and hypocrites; who, in order to shake off the yoke of obedience, waited only for a favourable circumstance, which sooner or later they would find some opportunity to excite.

WHEN imposture shall awaken the apprehensions of the sovereign, with respect to the fidelity of his subjects, it is difficult to prevent its being listened to with attention. Nevertheless, we shall venture to ask; whether Louis XIV. was excusable, when he seemed not to know how much his Protestant subjects were useful to him? We shall venture to ask, if he could seriously believe, that they would become more so, when they were turned Catholics; and if the toleration of a master, so powerful and so absolute, could ever bring on any of those disagreeable consequences with which he was incessantly threatened? The Protestants had been seditious, it is true: but they had been persecuted, and had been made, alternately with Catholics, the sport of the turbulent ambition of the great. The idea of so much blood spilt in the preceding reigns, should it not have made him apprehensive of shedding more? Past events should have taught him, that a king hath no power over religious opinions; that the consciences of men are not to be compelled; that fortune, life, and dignities, are nothing in comparison of eternal punishments; and that if it be right, in a country, where only one form of worship is observed, to forbid

access to any foreign superstition, yet power will never exclude that which is already established there; Louis XIV. experienced this. You monarchs, who are intrusted with the care of governing men, make it your business to be acquainted with them. Study their passions, in order that you may govern them by their passions. Know that a prince who says to his subjects, your religion displeases me, it is my pleasure that you should renounce it, has nothing to do but to raise the gallows, and to prepare the wheel, and let his executioners hold themselves in readiness.

Louis XIV. intrusted with the execution of his project, which was impious in religion and absurd in policy, two ministers impetuous as himself; two men who hated the Protestants, because Colbert had employed them. One of these was Le Tellier, a harsh and fanatic man; the other Louvois, a cruel and sanguinary minister; he who gave it as his opinion, that all Holland should be sunk under water, and who afterwards caused the Palatinate to be reduced to ashes. Immediately, on the slightest pretence, the churches of the Calvinists are shut up; they themselves are excluded from every office in the public revenue; they cannot be admitted into any corporation; their clergy are subjected to taxation; their mayors are deprived of nobility; the legacies left to their consistories, are applied to hospitals; the officers of the king's household, the secretaries of the king, the notaries, the counsellors, and the attorneys, have

BOOK
XVI.

orders to quit their functions, or to renounce their faith. These acts of violence are succeeded by absurdity. A declaration of council, in the year 1681, authorises children of seven years of age to renounce their faith. Children of seven years of age who have a faith, who have a civil will, and who enter into public engagements! Thus it is, that the sovereign and the priest can equally make children of men, and men of children!

BUT it became necessary to withdraw children from the authority of their parents; for which purpose force was employed. Soldiers were appointed to carry them off from their paternal dwelling, and took possession of it in their stead. The cry of desolation resounded from one end of the kingdom to the other. The people began to think of removing at a distance from the oppressor. Whole families deserted; their houses were converted into guard-rooms. The powers that were the rivals of France, offered them an asylum. Amsterdam was enlarged with a multitude of houses prepared for their reception. The provinces were depopulated. The government beheld these emigrations, and were disturbed. The punishment of the gallies was decreed against the fugitive artisan and the sailor. All the passages were closed. Nothing was forgotten that could possibly enhance the merit of the sacrifice; and more than five hundred thousand useful citizens made their escape, at the risk of receiving in their way the crown of martyrdom.

IT

It was in 1685, in the midst of these horrors, that the fatal revocation of the edict of Nantes appeared. The clergy who were steady in their opinions, were ordered to quit the kingdom within a fortnight, on pain of death. Children were torn from the arms of their fathers and mothers. And these horrible acts were authorised by a set of deliberate men; by an assembly of grave persons; by a supreme court! They were fathers, and yet they did not shudder while they gave orders for the infringement of the most sacred laws of nature!

In the mean while, the minds of men were inflamed. The Protestants assembled; they were attacked; they defended themselves, and dragons were sent against them. And now the hamlets, the villages, the fields, the highways, and the gates of the cities, were planted with scaffolds and drenched with blood. The intendants of the provinces vied with each other in cruelty. Some ministers, venturing to preach and to write, were seized upon and put to death. The prisons were soon incapable of holding the number of the persecuted; and it was the will of a single man that could make so many persons unfortunate! At his word, all the civil and moral ties were broken! At his word, a thousand citizens, revered for their virtues, their dignities and their talents, were devoted to death and to infamy! O ye people! ye herd of weak and mean men!

AND thou, blind tyrant! because thy priests have not the art of persuasion to make their arguments

BOOK
XVI.

ments victorious; because they cannot efface from the minds of those innocent men, the profound traces which education had engraved in them; because these men will neither be base, nor hypocritical, nor infamous; because they chuse rather to obey their God than to obey thee, must thou deprive them of their property, put chains upon them, burn them, hang them up, and drag their carcasses upon a hurdle? When thou withdrawest thy protection from them, because they do not think as thou dost; why should they not withdraw their obedience from thee, because thou thinkest differently from them? It is thou who dost break the compact.

THE churches of the Protestants were destroyed. Their ministers were either put to death, or they fled. But this did not put a stop to the desertion of the persecuted persons. What steps were therefore to be taken to prevent it? It was imagined that flight would be less frequent when the gates were laid open. This proved to be a mistake; and after the passages had been opened they were shut again a second time with as little success as at first.

THE dreadful wound which fanaticism then inflicted on the nation, hath continued bleeding down to our days, and will still remain open. Armies destroyed are recruited; provinces that are invaded are recovered: but the emigration of useful men, who convey to foreign nations their industry and their talents, and raise them at once to a level with the nation which they have quitted;

quitted, is an evil which cannot be remedied. BOOK
XVI.
The citizen of the world, whose comprehensive mind embraces the interest of all the human race, will perhaps be comforted on this occasion; but the true patriot will never cease to deplore the event.

THIS patriot is the man, who at this instant addresses himself to kings in the following terms :

‘ Rulers of the world, when a man, under the
‘ name of priest, shall contrive to connect his
‘ interests with the pretended interests of a God :
‘ when his suspicious hatred can induce him to
‘ make use of the name of that God, whom he
‘ will not fail to represent as jealous and cruel,
‘ in order to excite persecution against the man
‘ who shall not think as he does, or to speak with
‘ greater precision, who shall not think as the
‘ priest would have him think, woe to you and
‘ to your subjects, if you should listen to such
‘ insinuations !’

In the mean while, the French Protestants, scattered over the several parts of the globe, were every where turning their sorrowful looks towards their former country. Those who had found an asylum in the northern part of America, despairing ever to be able to revisit their former habitations, wished at least to be connected with the amiable nation from which tyranny had separated them. They offered to convey their industry and their capitals to Louisiana, provided they might be allowed to follow their mode of worship there. Unfortunately for the state, the superstition of Louis XIV. and the
weakness

BOOK
XVI.

weakness of the regent, occasioned these proposals to be rejected.

NEVERTHELESS, what analogy is there between the tenets of religion and the speculations of the ministry? Not more, it should seem, than there is between the prescriptions of the physician and the doctrine he professes. Hath the patient ever thought of asking his physician whether he went to church or to meeting? whether he believed in God or not? Rulers of the earth, he who causes the sun indiscriminately to shine on orthodox or on heretic regions; he who suffers his fertile dew to fall equally on their fields; doth he not declare to you, with sufficient evidence and energy, how much it ought to be indifferent to you by what men they are peopled, and by what hands they are cultivated? It is yours to protect them; it is yours to animate their labours; it is yours to encourage their industry and their virtues. It is the part of God to search into their hearts, and to judge them. Doth he render the mothers of the Calvinists barren? Or doth he stifle the child in the womb of the Lutheran women when they are pregnant? How, therefore, do ye dare to condemn to exile, to death, or to misery worse than these, that being, whom the Sovereign of all sovereigns, your Father and theirs, permits to live and to prosper? Because mass hath not been performed, or vespers sung at Louisiana, have the productions of the soil been less plentiful, less valuable, and less useful? Had the country been peopled with orthodox persons, and that some reason of state had induced

duced you to attempt the conquest of it, you ^{B O O K} would have put them all to the sword without ^{XVI.} hesitation; and yet you scruple to intrust the culture of them to heretics. With what strange madness are you affected? A conformity of worship puts no stop to your ferociousness, and a difference of worship excites it. Is it then consistent with the dignity of the chief of the state, to regulate his conduct by the fanatic spirit and narrow views of the director of a religious seminary? Is it consistent with his wisdom, to admit among the number of his subjects none but the slaves of his priests? I should not be in the least surprised, after having determined an old pusillanimous monarch, humbled by a long series of calamities, to complete them all by the revocation of a salutary edict, that the superstitious and hypocritical men who surrounded him should have led him on, from one circumstance to another, to reject the advantageous proposals of the religious people in the New World; but that considerations, which may be called merely monastic, should have had the same influence over the enlightened prince who held the reins of the empire after the old monarch, and who certainly was never accused of bigotry, is a circumstance which I cannot explain.

INDEPENDENTLY of this fatal system, Louisiana would not probably have languished for so long a time, had it not been for an original error adopted, of granting lands indiscriminately to every person who applied for them, and in the manner in which he desired them. Immense deserts
would

BOOK
XVI.

would not then have separated the colonists from each other. Being brought near to a common centre, they would have assisted each other, and would have enjoyed all the advantages of a well-regulated society. As population increased, the lands would have been cleared to a greater extent. Instead of a few hordes of savages, we should have seen a rising colony, which might in time have become a powerful nation, and procured infinite advantages to France.

THE French, who annually purchase from eighteen to twenty millions weight of tobacco, might have encouraged the cultivation of it in Louisiana, and might have drawn from that settlement a sufficient quantity of it for their own consumption. Such were the hopes that government entertained, when they ordered all the tobacco plants in France to be rooted up. Convinced that the lands in their provinces were adapted to more important and richer cultures, they thought it would be advantageous both to the mother-country and the colony, to secure to this infant settlement a market for that production which required the least capital, the least time and experience. When Law, the projector of this undertaking, fell into discredit, this scheme, the advantages of which were so evident, was forgotten, and shared the same fate as those which were merely the offspring of a disordered imagination. The blindness of the ministry was kept up by the private interests of the agents of the treasury; and this is

not

not one of the least mischiefs the finance has done **BOOK**
to the monarchy. **XVI.**

THE wealth which tobacco would have procured to the colony, would have made it sensible of the advantages that might be derived from the spacious and beautiful meadows with which that country abounds. They would soon have been covered with numerous herds, whose hides would have prevented the mother-country from purchasing any from other nations, and whose flesh, when prepared and salted, would have been disposed of in the islands, instead of foreign beef. Horses and mules, multiplying in the same proportion, would have freed the French colonies from the dependence they have always had upon the English and Spaniards for this necessary article.

As soon as the colonists had begun to exert themselves, they would have proceeded from one branch of industry to another. They could not possibly avoid building ships; for the country was covered with wood fit for the hull, and the fir-trees, that grew in great plenty along the coast, would have afforded masts and tar. There was no want of oak for the planks, and if there had been, it might have been supplied by cypress, which is less apt to split, bend, or break, and the additional thickness of which might have compensated for its want of strength and hardness. They might easily have grown hemp for the sails and rigging. Nothing, perhaps, need have been imported but iron; and it is even more than probable that there are iron mines in Louisiana.

THE

BOOK
XVI.

THE forests being thus cleared without any expence, and even with advantage, would have left the soil fit for the culture of corn and indigo. The production of silk might even have been undertaken with success, when once the colony had been sufficiently populous to attend to an employment, which the mildness of the climate, the number of mulberry trees, and some successful trials, had constantly invited them to. In a word, what might not have been expected from a country, where the air is temperate, and the soil even, fresh, and fertile; and which, properly speaking, had never been inhabited, but traversed carelessly by vagabonds equally destitute of skill and conduct?

HAD Louisiana attained to that degree of perfection it was capable of, its harbour would soon have been made more easy of access. This might perhaps have been effected, by stopping up all the small passes with the floating trees washed down by the waters; and by collecting the whole force of the stream in one single channel. If the softness of the soil, the rapidity of the river, or the ebbing of the sea, had opposed insurmountable obstacles to this project, genius might have found some resources against them. Every art, and every useful improvement, would have successively appeared to form a flourishing and vigorous colony in that spacious plain of America.

THIS prospect, which had never been seen but at a distance, seemed to be drawing near at the last peace. The inhabitants, to whom the treasury

fury owed seven millions of livres *, mostly ac-
 quired by criminal manoeuvres, despairing of ever
 obtaining the payment of this dishonest debt,
 or being only able to flatter themselves that they
 should obtain it at a distant period, and in part
 only, turned their attention to some important
 cultures with success. Their trade was increased
 with part of the peltry trade, which had formerly
 belonged to Canada. The French islands, the
 wants of which were continually increasing, while
 their resources were diminishing, required of
 them more wood, and more articles of subsist-
 ence. The fraudulent connections with Mexico,
 which the war had interrupted, were renewed.
 The traders of the mother-country, excluded
 from some of the markets they had frequented,
 sailed towards the Mississippi, the borders of
 which, too long neglected, were at length go-
 ing to be inhabited. Already had two hundred
 Acadian families fixed there; and the unfortu-
 nate remains of that nation, dispersed among the
 English settlements, were preparing to follow
 them. The same dispositions were observed in
 several colonists of St. Vincent's and Granada,
 dissatisfied with their new masters. Twelve or
 fifteen hundred Canadians had already begun
 their march to Louisiana, and were to be followed
 by many more. There are even strong reasons
 to think, that several Catholics were preparing to
 quit the British possessions, in order to go into
 this spacious and beautiful country.

B O O K
 XVI.

* 291,666l. 13s. 4d.

VOL. VII.

F

SUCH

B O O K
XVI.

The French
ministry
cede Loui-
siana to
Spain. Had
they a right
to do it?

SUCH was the state of things, when the court of Versailles announced to the inhabitants of Louisiana, on the 21st of April 1764, that by a secret treaty made the 3d of November 1762, the property of this island had been given up to the court of Madrid. The languid state of the colony, the obstacles which prevented its improvement, the impossibility of putting it in a situation to resist the whole force of the enemy united upon the frontier, these considerations must easily have determined the French ministry to this cession, apparently so considerable. But what motive could induce Spain to accept it? Would it not have been better for them to sacrifice Florida without any indemnification, for the restoration of public tranquillity, than to receive in exchange a possession which it was impossible for them to defend? If it were a barrier against the enterprises which an ambitious, active, and powerful nation might form against Mexico, was it not for the interest of Spain that a faithful ally should sustain the first shock, which would warn them of the storm, and might perhaps give them time to dissipate it?

BUT in whatever manner this event may be considered in a political view, will it not be looked upon as an offence against morality, thus to have sold or given away the members of the community to a foreign power? For what right has a prince to dispose of his subjects without their consent?

WHAT becomes of the rights of the people, if all is due from the nation to the prince, and nothing

thing from the prince to the nation? Are there ^{B O O K}
 then no rights but those of princes? These pre- ^{XVI.}
 tend to derive their power from God alone. This
 maxim, which is invented by the clergy, only
 with a design of raising kings above the people,
 that they themselves may command even kings
 in the name of the Deity, is no more than an iron
 chain, to bind a whole nation under the power of
 one man. It is no longer a mutual tie of love
 and virtue, of interest and fidelity, that gives to
 one family the rule in the midst of a society.

BUT why should the sovereign authority wish to
 conceal its being derived from men? Kings are
 sufficiently informed by nature, experience, his-
 tory, and their own consciousness, that it is of the
 people they hold all they possess, whether con-
 quered by arms or acquired by treaty. As they
 receive from the people all the marks of obe-
 dience, why should they refuse to accept from
 them all the rights of authority? Nothing is to be
 apprehended from voluntary submission, nor is any
 thing to be obtained by the abuse of usurped
 power. It can only be supported by violence;
 and is it possible that a prince can be happy who
 commands only by force, and is obeyed only
 through fear? He cannot sit easy upon his
 throne, when he cannot reign without asserting
 that he holds his crown from God alone. Every
 man may more truly affirm, that he holds from
 God, his life, his liberty, the unalienable right of
 being governed only by reason and justice. The
 welfare, then, and security of the people, is the
 supreme law on which all others depend. This

BOOK
XVI.

is, undoubtedly, the real fundamental law of all society. It is by this we must interpret every particular law which must be derived from this principle; and serve to explain and support it.

If we apply this rule to the treaties of division and cession which kings make between themselves, will it appear that they have the right of buying, selling, or exchanging their subjects, without their consent? Shall princes then arrogate to themselves the barbarous right of alienating or mortgaging their provinces and their subjects as they would their effects or estates; while the supplies granted for the support of their house, the forests of their domain, the jewels of their crown, are all sacred unalienable effects, which we must never have recourse to, even in the most pressing exigencies of the state?—Methinks I hear the voice of a numerous colony exclaiming from America, and addressing the mother-country in the following terms:

“ WHAT have I done to thee, that thou shouldst
 “ deliver me up into the hands of a stranger?
 “ Did I not spring from thy loins? Have I not
 “ sown, planted, cultivated, and reaped for thee
 “ alone? When thy ships conveyed me to these
 “ shores, so different from thy own happy climate,
 “ didst thou not engage for ever to protect
 “ me with thy fleets and armies? Have I not
 “ fought in support of thy rights, and defended
 “ the country thou gavest me? After having fertilized it by my labour, have I not maintained
 “ it for thee at the expence of my blood? Thy
 “ children were my parents or my brethren; thy
 “ laws

" laws my boast, and thy name my pride: that B O O K
XVI.
 " name which I have striven to render illustrious
 " among nations to whom it was unknown. I
 " have procured thee friends and allies among
 " the savages. I flattered myself with the
 " thought that I might one day come in compe-
 " tition with thy rivals, and be the terror of thine
 " enemies. But thou hast forsaken me. Thou
 " hast bound me without my consent, by a treaty,
 " the very concealment of which was a treachery.
 " Unfeeling, ungrateful parent, how couldst thou
 " break, in opposition to the dictates of nature,
 " the ties by which I was attached to thee, even
 " from my birth? While with incessant and pain-
 " ful toil I was restoring to thee the tribute of
 " nourishment and subsistence I had received
 " from thee, I wished for no other comfort than
 " that of living and dying under thy law. That
 " comfort thou hast refused me. Thou hast torn
 " me from my family, to deliver me up to a mas-
 " ter whom I did not approve. Restore my pa-
 " rent to me; restore me to him whose name I
 " have been used to call upon from my earliest
 " infancy. It is in thy power to make me sub-
 " mit against my will to a yoke which I abhor;
 " but this submission will only be temporary. I
 " shall languish and perish with grief and weak-
 " ness; or if I should recover life and vigour, it
 " will only be to withdraw myself from con-
 " nections I detest, though I should even be
 " compelled to deliver myself up to thy ene-
 " mies."

B O O K
XVI.Conduct of
the Spaniards at
Louisiana.

THIS aversion which the inhabitants of Louisiana had to the Spanish government, did not alter the arrangements made between the courts of Madrid and Versailles. On the 28th February 1766, M. Ulloa arrived in the colony with four-score Spaniards. According to the usual form, he ought to have taken possession immediately on his landing. But this was not the case: the orders still continued to be given out in the name of the king of France; the French magistrates still acted in that capacity; and the troops still continued to do the duties of the service under French banners; the person who represented Lewis XV. still retained the command. These circumstances persuaded the inhabitants, that Charles III. was causing the country to be examined; and that he would determine to accept or reject it, according as he should find it to the advantage or disadvantage of his power. This examination was made by an officer who appeared to have no favourable opinion of the region which he had come to reconnoitre; and it was natural to hope that he would put his master out of conceit with it.

THIS illusion was in general prevailing, when a law came from Spain, to forbid Louisiana from carrying on any trading connections with the markets where it had hitherto sold its productions. This fatal decree was accompanied, according to every testimony, with intolerable haughtiness, with odious monopolies, and with repeated acts of arbitrary authority; evils, which were

were the more oppressive, as they appeared to be the work of the French commander, over whom Ulloa had acquired such an ascendant, as to make him the vile instrument of all his caprices. These accusations were perhaps exaggerated. But the Spaniards should not have disdained to take every step which might have undeceived the prejudiced people, and softened their irritated minds.

B O O K
XVI.

THIS contemptuous behaviour, which was considered as the greatest outrage, and as the utmost stretch of tyranny, drove the people to despair. An infallible way of acquiring happiness and tranquillity presented itself to them. They had only to go across the river to obtain it. The English government solicited them to accept an excellent territory, together with every kind of encouragement for the culture of it, and all the prerogatives of liberty; but they were attached to their country by a sacred and beloved tie. They chose rather to petition the council, that Ulloa should be obliged to retire; and since he had deferred till then to take possession, that he should not be allowed to do it, till the court of Versailles had heard the representations of the colony. On the 28th October 1766, the tribunal pronounced the decree which was required, and the Spaniards quietly reembarked upon the frigate which had brought them there. There was not the least tumult nor indecent act committed in New Orleans, during the three days that this crisis lasted. When it was at an end, the inhabitants of the city, and those of Lower Louisiana, who had united their resentments in

BOOK
XVI.

order to bring about the revolution, reassumed their labours with the comfortable hopes that their conduct would be approved by the court of France.

THE success did not answer their expectation. The deputies of the colony did not arrive in Europe till six weeks after Ulloa, and they found that the ministry of Versailles were either exceedingly displeased with what had passed, or at least affected to be so. These dispositions were openly censured by the French nation, who considered the colonists of Louisiana in no other light than as a generous set of men, whose only crime was an unlimited attachment to their mother-country. A clamour so unanimous and so powerful was excited in their favour, that the government could not decently refuse to shew some concern for these unfortunate people. This tardy compassion was of no effect. The court of Madrid, who had foreseen it, had caused M. Orelly to set out with speed for the island of Cuba. From thence this commander took three thousand men of regular troops or of militia, which he embarked upon twenty-five transports; and on the 25th of July 1769, he hoisted his flag at the mouth of the Mississippi.

UPON this intelligence, the minds of all men were incensed with inexpressible rage against a mother-country which made a free sacrifice of an affectionate colony, and against a power which pretended to reign over a people who rejected their inhuman yoke. Steps were taken to prevent the landing of the troops, and to burn the ships

ships which conveyed them. Nothing was more BOOK
XVI.
easy, if we may credit those who were well acquainted with the situation of the place. The consequences of this bold resolution were not so dangerous as they might appear at first sight. The inhabitants of Louisiana might hope to form an independent republic. Should Spain and France attack them with too great a force, they might put themselves under the protection of England, and should Great Britain find itself in a situation that would not allow her to grant them her support, their last resource would have been to pass over to the eastern shore of the river with their slaves, their flocks, and their moveables.

TERRIBLE events were expected, when the promises of the Spanish general, the supplications of Aubry, that weak French commander, whose imbecility had occasioned the loss of every thing, and the vehement speeches of an eloquent magistrate, quieted the ferment. No man impeded the progress of the small fleet which arrived before New Orleans on the 17th of August. The next day all the citizens were freed from the allegiance which they owed to their first country. Possession was taken of the colony in the name of its new master; and the following days, those of the inhabitants who consented to submit to the Castilian yoke, took the oaths of allegiance.

EVERY thing was now completed except revenge. Victims were required. Twelve were chosen out from among the most distinguished persons in the army, the magistracy, and trade. Six of these generous men atoned with their blood.

BOOK

XVI,

blood for the consideration which they enjoyed. The others, perhaps more unfortunate, were sent to languish out their lives in the dungeons of the Havannah; and this horrible tragedy was ordered by the Spanish ministry, while the French ministry shewed no indignation at it!

INHUMAN and cruel masters, who will be inclined to belong to you? Who will be tempted to be called your subjects? By whom will you be served; since you dispose of your colonists, and cede them without their consent in opposition to the laws of nature and to the rights of mankind, as you would dispose of a herd of cattle? And if they had come out against you armed with torches in one hand and daggers in the other; if they had burnt the ships of the Spaniards; if they had assassinated the person who was charged with the orders of the court of Madrid; what mortal would be so vile as to blame them for it? Would the French government have had a right to be offended at an insurrection, the violence of which would only have been proportionate to the attachment professed for themselves? Would not the Spanish government have received the chastisement they deserved? But the colonists remained quiet, they submitted with resignation to the new yoke that was imposed upon them; they stifled their inward murmurs, and took the oath of allegiance that was required of them. Barbarous, sanguinary, and perfidious Spaniards! they swore to be faithful to you, and at that very instant you were marking out from among them the first victims of your authority. Stupid and
base

base colonists, where do you conceal yourselves? BOOK
XVI.
 What outrages are you submitting to? Your friends, your relations, your chiefs, your defenders, the objects of your affection and of your veneration, are dragging to the scaffold and are going to be plunged into obscure dungeons, and you remain motionless! At what period then, and for what reason, will you expose yourselves to death? Learn at least to know the power under whose authority you are to live. Vile rabble, come and learn the fate that awaits you, by that of citizens who are better than yourselves.

THOSE of the inhabitants who had been drawn to the colony by the interests of their commercial affairs, terrified with these atrocious acts, carried their activity elsewhere. Despair made several proprietors of rich plantations forsake them. The remainder lived in misery and oppression. These unfortunate people would have had no market for their productions, nor any means of procuring the common necessities of life, had it not been for some clandestine connections which they carried on with the English, who trade on the Mississippi, one of the two shores of which they possess and enrich. Their destiny must in time become rather less disagreeable, because the communication between Spain and her colonies, is freed from many shackles, and because the French islands have had the liberty granted them of obtaining from that great province, upon their own ships, wood and subsistence. The court of Madrid, however, hath so many more important concerns in the New Hemisphere,

B O O K
XVI.

misphere, that it may be foretold they will never attend seriously to the prosperity of Louisiana.

BUT can the wretched situation of these colonists, who have suffered their fellow-citizens to be massacred, excite any great degree of compassion? Is not their misery a just punishment, which they have deserved? Doth not their conscience, that severe judge of all our obligations, incessantly reproach them in the following terms:

“ You had honest and virtuous magistrates,
“ whose care was employed all day in contri-
“ buting to your happiness, and in watching
“ over your safety in the night, and over your
“ interests during the whole year; you had
“ among you fellow-citizens, who loved and who
“ succoured you, and most of them were at-
“ tached to you by the most sacred ties. They
“ were either your fathers, your brothers, or
“ your children; and you have quietly suffered
“ them to be led to the scaffold, or loaded with
“ chains. You walk with unfeeling indifference
“ over the stones which they have stained with
“ their blood! You bow yourselves down before
“ their executioners, and obey their orders! Your
“ cowardice must be punished with the coward’s
“ fate, and the punishment must still continue,
“ till the exertions of a noble resentment shall
“ justify you to yourselves and to us.”

LET us now see what has been the fate of Canada, which hath likewise changed its mother-country.

State of Ca-
nada at the
peace of
Utrecht.

AT the peace of Utrecht, this vast country was in a state of weakness and misery not to be conceived.

ceived. This was owing to the French who first came there, and who rather threw themselves into this country than settled in it. Most of them had done nothing more than run about the woods; the more sensible among them had attempted some cultures, but without choice or plan. A piece of ground, hastily tilled and built upon, was as hastily forsaken. The expences, however, the government had laid out, together with the profits of the fur trade, afforded at intervals to the inhabitants a tolerable subsistence; but a series of unfortunate wars soon deprived them of these advantages. In 1714, the exports from Canada did not exceed a hundred thousand crowns*. This sum, added to 350,000 livres †, which the government sent over every year, was all the colony had to depend upon, for the payment of the goods they received from Europe. And indeed these were so few, that the generality were reduced to wear skins like the Indians. Such was the distressful situation of the far greater part of twenty thousand French, supposed to inhabit these immense regions.

THE happy spirit which at that time animated the several parts of the world, roused Canada from that state of lethargy in which it had so long been plunged. It appears from the estimates taken in 1753 and 1758, which were nearly equal; that the inhabitants amounted to 91,000 souls, exclusive of the regular troops, whose numbers

Population
of Canada,
and distri-
bution of its
inhabitants.

* 12,500l.

† 14,583l. 6s. 8d.

B O O K varied according to the different exigencies of the
XVI. colony.

THIS calculation did not include the many allies dispersed throughout an extent of 1200 leagues in length, and of considerable breadth, nor the 16,000 Indians who dwelt in the centre of the French settlements, or in their neighbourhood. None of these were ever considered as subjects, though they lived in the midst of a great European colony: the smallest clans still preserved their independence. All men talk of liberty, but the savage only enjoys it. Not only the whole nation, but every individual, is truly free. The consciousness of his independence influences all his thoughts and actions. He would enter the palace of an Asiatic monarch, in the same manner as he would the cottage of a peasant, and neither be dazzled with his splendour nor awed by his power. It is his own species, it is mankind, it is his equal, that he loves and respects; but he would hate a master, and destroy him.

PART of the French colony was centered in three cities. Quebec, the capital of Canada, is 1500 leagues distant from France, and 120 leagues from the sea. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a peninsula, made by the river St. Lawrence and the river St. Charles, and commands a prospect over extensive fields, which serve to enrich it, and over a very safe road that will admit upwards of two hundred ships. It is three miles in circumference. Two thirds of this circuit are defended by the water and the rocks, which are a better security than the fortifications erected

erected on the ramparts that divide the peninsula. BOOK
XVI.
The houses are tolerably well built. The inhabitants were computed at about 10,000 at the beginning of the year 1759. This place was the centre of commerce and the seat of government.

THE city of the Trois Rivières, built ten years later than Quebec, and situated thirty leagues higher, was raised with a view of encouraging the trade with the northern Indians. But this settlement, though promising at first, never contained more than 1500 inhabitants, because the fur trade was soon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal.

MONTREAL is an island, ten leagues long and almost four broad, formed by the river St. Lawrence, sixty leagues above Quebec. It is the most temperate, pleasant, and fruitful spot in all the country. A few huts thrown up there as it were by chance in 1640, were improved to a regular built town, which contained four thousand inhabitants. At first it lay exposed to the insults of the savages; but was afterwards inclosed with slight pallisades, and then with a wall, constructed about fifteen feet high, with battlements. It fell to decay, when the inroads of the Iroquois obliged the French to erect forts higher up the country, to secure the fur trade.

THE other colonists, who were not contained within the walls of these three cities, did not live in towns, but were scattered along the banks of the river St. Lawrence. None were to be seen near the mouth of that river, where the soil is uneven

B O O K
XVI.

uneven and barren, and where no corn will ripen. The first habitations to the south, were built at fifty leagues, and to the north, at twenty leagues below Quebec; they were at a great distance from each other, and their produce was but indifferent. No very fertile fields were to be found but in the neighbourhood of its capital, and they improved as one approached Montreal. There cannot be a more beautiful prospect than the rich borders of that long and broad canal. Detached woods adding beauty to the tops of the verdant mountains, meadows covered with flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, small streams of water flowing down to the river, churches and castles seen at intervals through the trees, exhibited a succession of the most enchanting views. This interesting scene did not extend far beyond the river, and for the following reason: when the French ministry undertook to form a settlement in Canada, they gave some extent to those active or unfortunate men, who were desirous of settling there. But as the custom observed at Paris, which ordains, that all the descendants of the head of a family shall have an equal share in the inheritance, was introduced in the colony at the same time, this domain was reduced to little or nothing by a number of shares which were divided among a long series of generations.

If the whole of the estate had been secured to the eldest son, as the public good required, the province would have taken another turn. The father, urged to economy and labour by the desire of providing for his other children, would have required

required more lands, covered them with buildings, flocks, and cultures, and upon these plantations he would have placed his numerous posterity. The new proprietors would in their turn have followed this proper example of paternal affection, and the whole colony would in time have been entirely peopled and cultivated.

B O O K
XVI.

THE advantages of this policy, which had escaped the attention of the court of Versailles, were at length perceived by them in 1745. They forbade the further division of any plantation which should not have an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty in depth. This regulation did not remedy the mischiefs occasioned by two ages of ignorance, but it put a stop to an inconvenience, which in the end must have destroyed the colony.

THIS plan of inequality in the division of estates, will be considered by the vulgar as a system of inhumanity contrary to the laws of nature; but can there be any foundation for such a reproach? Can a man who hath ended his career preserve any rights? Doth he not lose them all when he ceases to breathe? When the Almighty deprives him of life, doth he not deprive him of every thing that had any relation to it? Ought his last will to have any influence over the generations which succeed him? Certainly not. As long as he lived, he hath enjoyed with reason the lands which he cultivated. At his death they belong to the first person who shall take possession of them and cultivate them. This is the law of nature. If another order of things hath been

BOOK
XVI.

established throughout almost the whole of the globe, this is a necessary consequence of social institutions. Their laws have derogated from those of nature, to secure tranquillity, to encourage industry, and to confirm liberty. The government will have a right to act as they have done, when they shall think it proper for the interests and for the common happiness of the members of the community, and consequently in a more or less favourable manner to one individual or another. Among the several possible institutions respecting the inheritance of the citizens after their decease, there is one which would perhaps meet with some approbation. This is, that the estates of the deceased should return to the mass of the public funds, to be employed first towards the relief of the indigent, and after that, to restore perpetually a kind of equality between the fortunes of individuals; when these two important objects had been fulfilled, the rest should be appropriated to the rewarding of virtue and the encouraging of talents.

BUT to return to Canada: there nature herself directed the labours of the husbandman, and taught him that watery and sandy grounds, and those where the pine, the fir-tree, and the cedar grew solitary, were unfavourable to agriculture; but wherever he found a soil covered with maple, oak, beech, hornbeam, and small cherry trees, he might reasonably expect an abundant crop of wheat, rye, maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulse, and pot-herbs in great plenty, and of all kinds.

Most

Most of the inhabitants had a score of sheep, ^{B O O K} whose wool was very valuable to them; ten or a ^{XVI.} dozen milch cows, and five or six oxen for the plough. The cattle were small, but their flesh was excellent, and these people lived much better than our country people do in Europe.

With this kind of affluence, they could afford to keep a number of horses; which were not fine, but fit for drudgery, and able to perform journies of amazing length upon the snow. And indeed the colonists took such delight in increasing the breed of them, that in winter time they would feed them with the corn which they themselves wanted sometimes at another season.

SUCH was the situation of the 83,000 French, dispersed or collected on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. Above the head of the river, and in what is called the Upper-country, there were 8000 more, who were rather addicted to hunting and trade than to husbandry.

THEIR first settlement was Catarakui, or Fort Frontenac, built in 1671, at the entrance of the lake Ontario, to stop the inroads of the English and Iroquois. The bay of this place served as a harbour for the men of war and trading vessels belonging to this great lake, which might with more propriety be called a sea, and where storms are almost as frequent and as dreadful as on the ocean.

BETWEEN the lakes Ontario and Erie, each of which measures three hundred leagues in circumference; lies a tract of land fourteen leagues in
G 2 extent.

BOOK
XVI,

extent. This tract is intersected towards the middle by the famous fall of Niagara, which from its height, breadth, and shape, and from the quantity and impetuosity of its waters, is justly accounted the most wonderful cataract in the world. It was above this grand and awful water-fall, that France had erected fortifications, with a design to prevent the Indians from carrying their furs to the rival nation.

BEYOND the lake Erie is an extent of land, distinguished by the name of the Streight, which exceeds all Canada, for the mildness of the climate, the beauty and variety of the landscapes, the richness of the soil, and the profusion of game and fish. Nature has lavished all her blessings to enrich this beautiful spot. But this was not the motive that determined the French to settle there in the beginning of the present century. It was the vicinity of several Indian nations, who could supply them with considerable quantities of furs; and, indeed, this trade increased very fast.

THE success of this new settlement proved fatal to the post of Michillimakinach, a hundred leagues further, between the lake Michigan, the lake Huron, and the lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greatest part of the trade which used to be carried on there with the natives, was transferred to the Streight, where it continued.

BESIDE the forts already mentioned, there were some of less note, built in different parts of the country, either upon rivers, or at the openings be-

tween the mountains; for the first sentiment which interest inspires, is that of mistrust, and its first impulse is that of attack or defence. Each of these forts was provided with a garrison, which defended the French who were settled in the neighbourhood. There were in all eight thousand souls, who inhabited the upper country.

BOOK
XVI.

Few of the colonists had such manners as it could have been wished they had had. Those whom rural labours fixed in the country, allowed only a few moments to the care of their flocks, and to other indispensable occupations, during the winter. The rest of the time was passed in idleness, at public houses, or in running along the snow in sledges, in imitation of the most distinguished citizens. When the return of the spring called them out to the necessary labours of the field, they ploughed the ground superficially without ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life till harvest-time. In a country where the people were too proud or too lazy to work by the day, every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be seen of that sprightly joy, which on a fine summer's day enlivens the reapers, while they are gathering in their rich harvest.

Manners of
the French
Canadians.

THIS amazing negligence might be owing to several causes. The excessive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, totally put a stop to the exertions of the inhabitants. They contracted such a habit of idleness during the continuance of the severe weather for eight months successively,

BOOK
XVI.

that labour appeared insupportable to them even in the finest weather. The numerous festivals prescribed by their religion, which owed its increase to their establishment, prevented the first exertion, as well as they interrupted the progress of industry. Men are ready enough to comply with that species of devotion that flatters their indolence. Lastly, a passion for war, which had been purposely encouraged among these bold and courageous men, made them averse from the labours of husbandry. Their minds were so entirely captivated with military glory, that they thought only of war, though they engaged in it without pay.

THE inhabitants of the cities, especially of the capital, spent the winter, as well as the summer, in a constant scene of dissipation. They were alike insensible to the beauties of nature and to the pleasures of imagination; they had no taste for arts or sciences, for reading or instruction. Their only passion was amusement, and persons of all ages were fond of dancing at assemblies. This manner of life considerably increased the influence of the women, who were possessed of every attraction, except those soft emotions of the soul, which alone constitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, and addicted to coquetry and gallantry, they were more fond of inspiring than feeling the tender passions. There appeared in both sexes a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher sense of honour than real honesty. Superstition took place of morality, which will always be the case, wherever

wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compensate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers.

BOOK
XVI.

IDLENESS, prejudice, and levity, would never have gained such an ascendant in Canada, had the government been careful to turn the attention of the people to lasting and useful objects. But all the colonists were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the slow and sure process of laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret; an awful decree, which they were to submit to without examination. Delays and representations were so many crimes in the eyes of a despotic ruler, who had usurped a power of punishing or absolving merely by his word. He had the authority of dispensing all favours and penalties, rewards and punishments; the right of imprisoning without the shadow of a crime, and the still more formidable right of enforcing a reverence for his decrees as so many acts of justice, though they were but the irregular sallies of his own caprice.

Form of government established in Canada. Impediments which cultivation, industry, and fishing, experienced from it.

IN early times, this unlimited power was not exercised in matters of military discipline and political administration only, but extended even to civil jurisdiction. The governor decided absolutely, and without appeal, all differences arising between the colonists. These contests were fortunately very rare, in a country where all things might almost be said to be in common. This

B O O K
XVI.

dangerous authority subsisted till 1663, at which period a tribunal was erected in the capital for the definitive trial of all causes depending throughout the colony. The custom of Paris, modified in conformity to local circumstances, formed the code of their laws.

THIS code was not mutilated or disfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The administration of the finances in Canada, only required a few fines of alienation, a trifling contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal towards maintaining the fortifications, and some duties upon all goods imported and exported. These several articles united, brought no more than 260,200 livres * into the treasury, in the most flourishing times of the colony.

THE lands were not taxed by government, but were burthened with other charges. At the first establishment of the colony, the king rewarded his officers, civil and military, and others of his subjects, whom he wished to remunerate or to enrich, with grants of land, from two to six leagues square. These great proprietors, who were men of moderate fortunes, and unskilled in agriculture, were unable to manage such vast estates, and were therefore under a necessity of making over their lands to veteran soldiers, or to the colonists, for a perpetual annuity.

EACH of these vassals was commonly allowed ninety acres of land, and engaged to pay an-

* 10,841 l. 13s. 4d.

nually

usually to the lord of the manor one or two sols * BOOK
XVI.
per acre, and a measure of corn for the entire grant. He likewise engaged to work in the lord's mill, and to cede to him, for the miller's fees, the fourteenth part of the flour; he also engaged to pay one twelfth for the fines of alienation, and remained subject to the lord's right of repurchase.

THERE have been writers who have applauded, with enthusiasm, a system which appeared proper to confirm order and subordination. But was not this introducing into America the image of the feudal government which for so long a time had occasioned the ruin of Europe? Was it not giving subsistence to a great number of idle persons, at the expence of the only class of citizens with which an infant state ought to be peopled? The burthen of an annuitant nobility was still increased to these useful colonists, by the additional weight of the exactions of the clergy. This rapacious body obtained of the ministry, in 1663, that they should receive *the thirteenth part of all that the soil should produce by the labour of man, and of all that it should produce spontaneously.* This intolerable vexation, in a country which was not yet well settled, had lasted four years, when the supreme council of Quebec took upon themselves, in 1667, to reduce the tithes to a twenty-sixth, and an edict of 1769 confirmed this regulation; which was still too favourable to the priests.

* A halfpenny or a penny.

So many impediments previously opposed to the progress of agriculture, disabled the colony from paying for the necessaries that came from the mother-country. The French ministry were at last so fully convinced of this truth, that after having always obstinately opposed the establishment of manufactures in America, they thought it their interest even to promote them in 1706. But those late encouragements had very little effect, and the united industry of the colonists could never produce more than a few coarse linens, and some very bad woollens.

THE fisheries were not much more attended to than the manufactures. The only one that could become an object of exportation was that of the seal. This animal has been ranked in the class of fish, though he be not dumb; he is always produced on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is somewhat like that of a mastiff. He has four paws, which are very short, especially the hinder ones, which serve him rather to crawl than to walk upon. They are shaped like fins, but the fore-feet have claws. His skin is hard and covered with short hair. He is at first white, but turns sandy or black, as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all these three different colours.

THERE are two different kinds of seals. The larger one sometimes weighs two thousand pounds, and seems to have a sharper snout than the others. The small ones, whose skin is commonly marbled, are active, and more dextrous in extricating themselves out of the snares that
are

are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them so far as to make them follow them. BOOK
XVI.

THEY couple upon the rocks, and sometimes on the ice, and it is there also that the dams bring forth their young. They commonly bear two, and they usually suckle them in the water, but more frequently on land. When they want to teach them to swim, it is said they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are strong enough to swim of themselves. Most little birds flutter about from spray to spray, before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boisterous winds; it is not therefore surprising, that the seal, produced on land, should use her little ones to live under water.

THIS amphibious animal is fished for only on the Labrador coast. The Canadians go to this frozen and almost uninhabitable coast, towards the middle of October, and remain there till the beginning of June. They place their nets between the continent and a few small islands at a little distance. The seals, who commonly come in shoals from the east, attempt to pass these kinds of streights, and are caught. When they are conveyed to land, they remain frozen there till the month of May. They are then thrown into hot kettles, from whence their oil flows into another vessel, where it cools. Seven or eight of these animals yield a hoghead of oil.

THE

BOOK
XVI.

THE skin of the seal was formerly used for muffs, but afterwards to cover trunks, and to make shoes and boots. When it is well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of Morocco leather. If it be not quite so fine, it preserves, however, its colour longer.

THE flesh of the seal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account when boiled down to oil. This oil keeps clear for a long time, has no bad smell, and leaves no sediment. It is used for burning and dressing leather.

FIVE or six small ships were fitted out yearly from Canada for the seal fishery; and one or two less for the Caribbee islands. It received from the islands nine or ten vessels laden with rum, molasses, coffee, and sugar; and from France about thirty ships, the lading of which together might amount to nine thousand tons.

IN the interval between the two last wars, which was the most flourishing period of the colony, the exports did not exceed 1,200,000 livres * in furs, 800,000 † in beaver, 250,000 ‡ in seal oil, the same in flour and peas, and 150,000 livres § in wood of all kinds. These several articles put together, amounted only to 2,650,000 livres || a year; a sum sufficient to pay for the commodities sent from the mother-country. The government made up the deficiency.

* 50,000l.

† 10,416l. 13s. 4d.

|| 110,416l. 13s. 4d.

† 33,333l. 6s. 8d.

§ 6,250l.

WHEN

WHEN the French were first in possession of Canada, they had very little specie. The small quantity that was brought in from time to time by the new settlers, did not continue in the country, because the necessitous state of the colony soon occasioned it to return. This was a great obstacle to the progress of commerce and agriculture. In 1670, the court of Versailles coined a particular sort of money for the use of all the French settlements in America, and set a nominal value upon it, one-fourth above the current coin of the mother-country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages that were expected, at least with regard to New France. They therefore contrived to substitute paper currency instead of metal, for the payment of the troops, and other expences of government. This succeeded till the year 1713, when the engagements that had been made with the administrators of the colony were not faithfully observed. Their bills of exchange drawn upon the treasury of the mother-country were not honoured, and from that time fell into discredit. They were at last paid off in 1720, with the loss of five-eighths.

THIS event occasioned the revival of the use of specie in Canada: but this expedient lasted only two years. The merchants found it troublesome, chargeable, and hazardous to send money to France, and so did all the colonists who had any remittances to make; so that they were the first to solicit the re-establishment of paper-currency. This consisted of cards, on which were stamped the arms of France

BOOK
XVI.

Taxes levied
in Canada.
Expences of
the ministry
in that
country.
Manner in
which they
were paid.
To what
excess they
were car-
ried, and
how they
were got rid
of.

BOOK
XVI.

France and Navarre, and they were signed by the governor, the intendant, and the comptroller. They were of twenty-four *, twelve †, six ‡, and three livres ||; and of thirty §, fifteen ¶, and seven sols and a half **. The value of the whole number that was made out, did not exceed a million of livres ††. When this sum was not sufficient for the public exigencies, the deficiency was made up by orders signed only by the intendant. This was the first abuse; but one of still greater consequence was, that their number was unlimited. The smallest were of twenty sols ‡‡, and the highest of a hundred livres |||. These different papers circulated in the colony, and supplied the want of specie till the month of October. This was the latest season for the ships to sail from Canada. Then all this paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange, payable in France by the government, which was supposed to have made use of the value. But they were so multiplied by the year 1754, that the royal treasury could no longer answer such large demands, and was forced to protract the payment. An unfortunate war that broke out two years after, so increased their number, that at last they were prohibited. This presently raised the price of all commodities to an immoderate degree; and as, on account of the enormous expences of the war, the king was the chief consumer, he alone bore

* 1l.

|| 2s. 6d.

** 3½d.

||| 4l. 3s. 4d.

† 10s.

§ 1s. 3d.

†† 41,666l. 13s. 4d.

‡ 5s.

¶ 7½d.

‡‡ 10d.

the

the loss arising from the discarded paper, and from the dearth of the goods. In 1759, the ministry were obliged to stop payment of the Canada bills, till their origin and their real value could be traced. They amounted to an alarming number. BOOK
XVI.

THE annual expences of government for Canada, which in 1729 did not exceed 400,000 livres †, and before 1749 never were greater than 1,700,000 ‡, were immense after that period. The year 1750 cost 2,100,000 §; the year 1751, 2,700,000 §; the year 1752, 4,090,000 ¶; the year 1753, 5,300,000 **; the year 1754, 4,450,000 ††; the year 1755, 6,100,000 ††; the year 1756, 14,300,000 ||; the year 1757, 19,250,000 §§; the year 1758, 27,900,000 ¶¶; the year 1759, 26,000,000 ¶¶; the first eight months of the year 1760, 13,500,000 †††. Of these prodigious sums 80,000,000 ††† were due at the peace.

THIS infamous debt was traced up to its origin. The malversations were horrid. Some persons, who had become delinquents from the abuse of the unlimited power which government had granted them, were degraded, banished, and stripped of part of their plunder. Others, not less guilty, by distributing their gold with a lavish

† 16,666l. 13s. 4d.

‡ 87,500l.

¶ 170,416l. 13s. 4d.

†† 185,416l. 13s. 4d.

|| 470,833l. 6s. 8d.

¶¶ 1,162,500l.

††† 562,500l.

† 71,833l. 6s. 8d.

§ 112,500l.

** 220,833l. 6s. 8d.

†† 254,166l. 13s. 4d.

§§ 802,083l. 6s. 8d.

*** 1,083,333l. 6s. 8d.

††† 3,333,333l. 6s. 8d.

- hand,

BOOK
XVI.

hand, escaped restitution and infamy, and instantly enjoyed the fortune they had acquired by such criminal means. The bills of exchange were reduced to one half, and the orders to a fourth part of their value. They were both paid in bonds bearing four per cent. interest, which fell into the greatest discredit.

IN the debt of eighty millions *, the Canadians were holders of thirty-four millions † in orders, and seven millions ‡ in bills of exchange. Their paper was subjected to the general regulation: but Great Britain, whose subjects they were become, obtained for them an indemnity of three millions § in bonds, and six hundred thousand livres § in specie; so that they received fifty-five per cent. upon their bills of exchange, and thirty-four per cent. upon their orders.

Advantages which France might have derived from Canada.

IF Canada did not deserve these sacrifices from the mother-country, it was the fault of the power that gave laws to it. Nature had made this country proper for the production of all kinds of grain, which are here of a superior quality, and liable to few accidents, because when sown in May, they are gathered before the end of August. The wants of the American islands, and of part of Europe, secure the sale of them at an advantageous price. Nevertheless, no more wheat was ever cultivated than what was necessary for the colonists, who were even sometimes reduced

* 3,333,333l. 6s. 8d.

† 1,416,666l. 13s. 4d.

‡ 291,666l. 13s. 4d.

§ 125,400l.

§ 250,000l.

to the necessity of drawing their subsistence from ^{B O O K} foreign markets. ^{XVI.}

If husbandry had been encouraged and extended, the breed of cattle would have been increased. There is such plenty of pasture-ground and of acorns, that the colonies might easily have bred oxen and hogs enough to supply the French islands with beef and pork, without having recourse to Irish beef. Possibly, these cattle might in time have increased sufficiently to furnish the traders of the mother-country.

THE same advantages could not have been obtained from their sheep, even if the rigour of the climate had not set an invincible obstacle to their multiplication. Their fleece, which must always be coarse, can only be usefully employed in the colony itself, for stuffs of a more or less ordinary kind.

THE same thing cannot be said of the Gin-seng. This plant, which the Chinese procure from the Corea, or from Tartary, and which they buy at the weight of gold, was found in 1720 by the Jesuit Lafitau, in the forests of Canada, where it grows very common. It was soon carried to Canton, where it was much esteemed, and sold at an extravagant price. The Gin-seng, which at first sold at Quebec for thirty or forty sols * a pound, rose to twenty-five livres †. In 1752, the Canadians exported this plant to the value of 500,000 livres ‡. There was such a de-

* About 1s. 6d. on an average.

† 1l. os. 10d.

‡ 20,833l. 6s. 8d.

BOOK
XVI.

mand for it, that they were induced to gather in May what ought not to have been gathered till September, and to dry in the oven what should have been dried gradually in the shade. This spoilt the sale of the Gin-seng of Canada, in the only country in the world where it could find a market; and the colonists were severely punished for their excessive rapaciousness, by the total loss of a branch of commerce, which, if rightly managed, might have proved a source of opulence.

ANOTHER and a surer plan for the encouragement of industry, was the working of the iron mines which abound in those parts. Mr. Dantic hath laboured for a long time to discover a certain method of classing all the kinds of iron that are known. After a great number of experiments, the detail of which would be improper here, he hath found that the iron of Styria was the best. The second best is the iron of North America, of Danemara in Sweden, of Spain, of Bayonne, of Roussillon, of the country of Foix, of Berri, of Thierache, and of Sweden, the common iron of France, and lastly, that of Siberia. If this be really the case, what advantage might not the court of Versailles have derived from the mine which was discovered at the Trois Rivières, which is exceedingly abundant, and near the surface of the earth? At first it was only carelessly and improperly worked; but these labours were increased and improved, by a blacksmith arrived from Europe in 1739. The colony made use of no other iron than this; some specimens of it were even exported, but there the matter rested.

rested. This negligence was the more inexcusable, as at this period the resolution had been taken, after much hesitation, to form a naval settlement in Canada.

THE first Europeans who landed on that vast region, found it entirely covered with forests. The principal trees were oaks of prodigious height, and pines of all sizes. These woods, when felled, might have been conveyed with ease down the river St. Lawrence, and the numberless rivers that fall into it. By an unaccountable fatality, all these treasures were overlooked or despised. At length the attention of the court of Versailles was turned towards them; and some docks were constructed by their orders at Quebec, for building men of war: but this business was, unfortunately, trusted to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private interest.

THE timber should have been felled upon the hills, where the cold air hardens the wood by contracting its fibres: whereas it was constantly taken from marshy grounds, and from the banks of the rivers, where the moisture gives it a looser and a richer texture. Instead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down on rafts to the place of its destination, where, being forgotten and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moss that rotted it. Instead of being put under sheds when it was landed, it was left exposed to the sun in summer, to the snow in winter, and to the rains in spring and autumn. It was then conveyed into the dock-yards, where it again sustained the inclemency of the seasons for two or three years.

BOOK
XVI.

Negligence or dishonesty enhanced the price of every thing to such a degree, that sails, ropes, pitch, and tar, were imported from Europe into a country, which, with a little industry, might have supplied the whole kingdom of France with all these materials. This bad management had brought the wood of Canada entirely into disrepute, and effectually ruined the resources which that country afforded for the navy.

THE colony furnished the manufactures of the mother-country with a branch of trade that might almost be called an exclusive one, which was the preparation of the beaver. This commodity at first was subjected to the oppressive restraints of monopoly. The India company could not but make an ill use of their privilege, and really did so. What they bought of the Indians was chiefly paid for in English scarlet cloths, which those people were very fond of wearing. But as they could make twenty-five or thirty per cent. more of their commodities in the English settlements than the company chose to give, they carried thither all they could conceal from the search of the company's agents, and exchanged their beaver for English cloth and India callicoe. Thus did France, by the abuse of an institution which she was by no means obliged to maintain, deprive herself of the double advantage of furnishing materials to some of her own manufactures, and securing a market for the produce of others. She was equally ignorant of the facility of establishing a whale fishery in Canada.

THE chief sources of this fishery are Davis's BOOK
XVI. Streights and Greenland. Fifty ships come every year into the former of these latitudes, and a hundred and fifty into the latter. The Dutch are concerned in more than three-fourths of them. The rest are fitted out from Bremen, Hamburg, and England. It is computed that the whole expence of fitting out 200 ships of 350 tons burden, upon an average must amount to 10,000,000 of livres *. The usual produce of each is rated at 80,000 livres †, and consequently the whole amount of the fishery cannot be less than 3,200,000 livres ‡. If we deduct from this the profits of the seamen who are employed in these hard and dangerous voyages, very little remains for the merchants concerned in this trade.

THESE circumstances have by degrees disgusted the Biscayans of a trade, in which they were the first adventurers. Other Frenchmen have not been induced to take it up, insomuch that the whale fishery has been totally abandoned by that nation, which of all others consumed the greatest quantity of blubber, whale-bone, and spermaceti.

IT was an easy matter to take it up again in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and even at the mouth of the Saguenay, which is close to the excellent port of Tadoussac. It is even affirmed, that it hath been tried on the first arrival of the French in Canada, and that it hath been interrupted for

* 416,666l. 13s. 4d.

† 3,333l. 6s. 8d.

‡ 1,333,333l. 6s. 8d.

BOOK
XVI.

no other reason than because the profits of the fur-trade were more easy and more rapid. It is, however, certain, that the fishery in the river St. Lawrence would have been attended with less danger and less expence, than at Davis's Streights or Greenland. It hath ever been the fate of this colony, that the best schemes with regard to it have not been pursued with perseverance; and that in particular the government have never done any thing for the encouragement of the whale fishery, which might have proved an excellent nursery for seamen, and given to France a new branch of commerce.

THE same indifference hath been carried still further. The cod fish frequent particularly the river St. Lawrence, as high up as at the distance of fourscore leagues from the sea. They may be caught as they pass over this vast space. It would, however, be advantageous to establish a settled fishery at the harbour of Mont Louis, situated at the mouth of a pleasant river, which can receive vessels of one hundred tons burden, and which shelters them from every kind of danger. The fish is more plentiful there than any where else. Every convenience required for drying the fish is found upon the shores; and the neighbouring lands are very proper for pasture-grounds or culture. Every circumstance induces us to believe that a colony would prosper in that situation. This was the opinion in 1697; and an association was formed at this period to begin this undertaking, by the attention of Riverin, an active and intelligent man. Numberless obstacles occasioned the

the

the failure of this project, which hath been since resumed, but very carelessly executed. This was a great misfortune for Canada, which, had it been remarkable for any success of this kind, would thereby have greatly extended its connections with Europe and with the West Indies.

BOOK
XVI.

EVERY circumstance, therefore, conspired to promote the prosperity of the settlements in Canada, if they had been assisted by the men who seemed to be most interested in them. But whence could proceed that inconceivable want of industry, which suffered them to remain in the same wretched state they were in at first?

It must be confessed, that the nature of the climate presented some obstacles to the efforts of policy. The river St. Lawrence is frozen up for six months in the year. At other times it is not navigable by night, on account of thick fogs, rapid currents, sand-banks, and concealed rocks, which make it even dangerous by day-light. From Quebec to Montreal, the river is only practicable for vessels of three hundred tons burden, and even these are frequently impeded by terrible winds, which detain them a fortnight or three weeks in this short passage. From Montreal to the Lake Ontario, traders meet with no less than six water-falls, which oblige them to unload their canoes, and to convey them and their lading a considerable way by land.

Difficulties which France had to overcome, in order to derive advantages from Canada.

FAR from encouraging men to surmount the difficulties of nature, a misinformed government planned none but ruinous schemes. To gain the advantage over the English in the fur trade, they

BOOK
XVI.

erected three and thirty forts, at a great distance from each other. The building and victualling of them diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have engrossed their attention. This error engaged them in an arduous and perilous track.

It was not without some uneasiness that the Indians saw the formation of these settlements, which might endanger their liberty. Their suspicions induced them to take up arms, so that the colony was seldom free from war. Necessity made all the Canadians soldiers. Their manly and military education rendered them hardy from their youth, and fearless of danger. Before they had arrived to the age of manhood, they would traverse a vast continent in the summer-time in canoes, and in winter on foot, through ice and snow. Having nothing but their gun to procure subsistence with, they were in continual danger of starving; but they were under no apprehension, not even of falling into the hands of the savages, who had exerted all the efforts of their imagination in inventing tortures for their enemies, far worse than death.

THE sedentary arts of peace, and the constant labours of agriculture, could have no attraction for men accustomed to an active but wandering life. The court, which form no idea of the sweets or the utility of rural life, increased the aversion which the Canadians had conceived for it, by bestowing all their favours and honours upon military exploits alone. The distinction that was chiefly lavished was that of nobility, which was attended

attended with the most fatal consequences. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleness, but also inspired them with an unconquerable passion for every thing that was splendid. Profits which ought to have been kept sacred for the improvement of the lands, were laid out in ornament, and a real poverty was concealed under the trappings of destructive luxury.

BOOK
XVI.

SUCH was the state of the colony in 1747, when La Galissoniere was appointed governor. He was a man possessed of very extensive knowledge, active and resolute, and of a courage the more steady, as it was the effect of reason. The English wanted to extend the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as far as the south side of the river St. Lawrence. He thought this an unjust claim, and was determined to confine them within the peninsula, which he apprehended to be the boundary settled even by treaties. Their ambition of incroaching on the inland parts, particularly towards the Ohio, or Fair River, he likewise thought unreasonable. He was of opinion that the Apalachian mountains ought to be the limits of their possessions, and was fully determined they should not pass them. His successor, who was appointed while he was preparing the means of accomplishing this vast design, entered into his views with all the warmth they deserved. Numbers of forts were immediately erected on all sides, to support the system which the court had adopted, perhaps without foreseeing, or, at least, without sufficiently attending to the consequences.

Origin of
the wars
between the
English and
the French
in Canada.

BOOK
XVI.

AT this period began those hostilities between the English and the French in North America, which were rather countenanced than openly avowed by the respective mother-countries. This clandestine mode of carrying on the war was perfectly agreeable to the ministry at Versailles, as it afforded an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without exposing their weakness, what they had lost by treaties, at a time when the enemy had imposed their own terms. These repeated checks at last opened the eyes of Great Britain, and disclosed the political designs of her rival. George II. thought that a clandestine war was inconsistent with the superiority of his maritime forces. His ships were ordered to attack those of the French in all parts of the world. The English accordingly took or dispersed all the French ships they met with, and in 1758 steered towards Cape-Breton.

Conquest of
Cape-Breton
by the
English.

THIS island, the key of Canada, had already been attacked in 1745; and the event is of so singular a nature, that it deserves a particular detail. The plan of this first invasion was laid at Boston, and New England bore the expence of it. A merchant, named Pepperel, who had excited, encouraged, and directed the enthusiasm of the colony, was intrusted with the command of an army of 6000 men, which had been levied for this expedition.

THOUGH these forces, convoyed by a Squadron from Jamaica, brought the first news to Cape-Breton of the danger that threatened it; though the advantage of a surprise would have secured the

the landing without opposition; though they had ^{B O O K} but 600 regular troops to encounter, and 800 in- _{XVI.} habitants hastily armed, the success of the undertaking was still precarious. What great exploits, indeed, could be expected from a militia suddenly assembled, who had never seen a siege or faced an enemy, and were to act under the direction of sea-officers only? These unexperienced troops stood in need of the assistance of some fortunate incident, which they were indeed favoured with in a singular manner.

THE construction and repairs of the fortifications had always been left to the care of the garrison of Louisbourg. The soldiers were eager of being employed in these works, which they considered as conducive to their safety, and as the means of procuring them a comfortable subsistence. When they found that those who were to have paid them appropriated to themselves the profit of their labours, they demanded justice. It was denied them, and they determined to assert their right. As these depredations had been shared between the chief persons of the colony and the subaltern officers, the soldiers could obtain no redress. Their indignation against these rapacious extortioners rose to such a height, that they despised all authority. They had lived in open rebellion for six months, when the English appeared before the place.

THIS was the time to conciliate the minds of both parties, and to unite in the common cause. The soldiers made the first advances; but their commanders mistrusted a generosity of which they them-

B O O K
XVI.

themselves were incapable. Had these mean oppressors conceived it possible that the soldiers could have entertained such elevated notions as to sacrifice their own resentment to the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this disposition, and have fallen upon the enemy while they were forming their camp, and beginning to open their trenches. Besiegers unacquainted with the principles of the art of war, would have been disconcerted by regular and vigorous attacks. The first checks might have been sufficient to discourage them, and to make them relinquish the undertaking. But it was firmly believed that the soldiers were only desirous of sallying out, that they might have an opportunity of deserting; and their own officers kept them in a manner prisoners, till a defence so ill managed had reduced them to the necessity of capitulating. The whole island shared the fate of Louisburg, its only bulwark.

THIS valuable possession, restored to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was again attacked by the English in 1758. On the 2d of June, a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, carrying 16,000 well-disciplined troops, anchored in Gabarus bay, within half a league of Louisbourg. As it was evident that it would be to no purpose to land at a greater distance, because it would be impossible to bring up the artillery and other necessaries for a considerable siege, it had been attempted to render the landing impracticable near the town. In the prudent precautions that had been taken, the besiegers saw the dangers

and

and difficulties they had to expect; but far from BOOK
XVI. being deterred by them, they had recourse to stratagem; and while by extending their line they threatened and commanded the whole coast, they landed by force of arms at the creek of Cormoran.

THIS place was naturally weak. The French had fortified it with a good parapet planted with cannon. Behind this rampart they had posted 2000 excellent soldiers and some Indians. In front they had made such a close hedge with branches of trees, that would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. This kind of pallisade, which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a distance to be nothing more than a verdant plain.

THIS would have preserved the colony, had the assailants been suffered to complete their landing, and to advance, with the confidence that they had but few obstacles to surmount. Had this been the case, overpowered at once by the fire of the artillery and the small arms, they would infallibly have perished on the shore, or in the hurry of embarking; especially as the sea was just then very rough. This unexpected loss might have interrupted the whole project.

BUT all the prudent precautions that had been taken, were rendered abortive by the impetuosity of the French. The English had scarce begun to move towards the shore, when their enemies hastened to discover the snare they had laid for them. By the brisk and hasty fire that was aimed

BOOK
XVI.

at their boats, and still more by the premature removal of the boughs that masked the forces, which it was so much the interest of the French to conceal, they guessed at the danger they were going to rush into. They immediately turned back, and saw no other place to effect their landing upon but a rock, which had been always deemed inaccessible. General Wolfe, though much taken up in re-imbarking his troops, and sending off the boats, gave the signal to Major Scot to repair thither.

THE officer immediately removed to the spot with his men. His own boat coming up first, and sinking at the very instant he was stepping out, he climbed up the rock alone. He was in hopes of meeting with a hundred of his men, who had been sent thither some hours before. He found only ten. With these few, however, he gained the summit of the rock. Ten Indians and sixty Frenchmen killed two of his men, and mortally wounded three. In spite of his weakness, he stood his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardless of the boisterous waves and the fire of the cannon, came up to him, and put him in full possession of that important post, the only one that could secure their landing.

THE French, as soon as they saw that the enemy had got a firm footing on land, betook themselves to the only remaining refuge, and shut themselves up in Louisbourg. The fortifications were in a bad condition, because the sea sand, which they had been obliged to use, is by no means fit for works

works of masonry. The revetements of the several curtains were entirely crumbled away. There was only one casement and a small magazine that were bomb proof. The garrison which was to defend the place consisted only of 2900 men.

BOOK
XVI.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these disadvantages, the besieged were determined to make an obstinate resistance. While they were employed in defending themselves with so much firmness, the succours they expected from Canada might possibly arrive. At all events, this resistance might be the means of preserving that great colony from all further invasion for the remainder of the campaign. It is scarce credible that the French were confirmed in their resolution by the courage of a woman. Madame de Drucourt was continually upon the ramparts, with her purse in her hand; and firing herself three guns every day, seemed to dispute with the governor, her husband, the glory of his office. The besieged were not dismayed at the ill success of their several sallies, or the masterly operations concerted by Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst. It was but at the eve of an assault, which it was impossible to sustain, that they talked of surrendering. They made an honourable capitulation, and the conqueror shewed more respect for his enemy and for himself, than to sully his glory by any act of barbarity or avarice.

THE conquest of Cape-Breton opened the way into Canada. The very next year the seat of war was removed thither, or rather the scenes of blood.

The English
attack Ca-
nada. They
at first ex-
perience
great mis-

B O O K
XVI.

fortunes
there.
Causes of
them.

bloodshed which had long been acted over that immense country, were multiplied. The cause of these proceedings was this:

THE French, settled in those parts, had carried their ambitious views towards the north, where the finest furs were to be had, and in the greatest plenty. When this vein of wealth was exhausted, or yielded less than it did at first, their trade turned southward, where they discovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of the Fair River. It laid open the natural communication between Canada and Louisiana. For though the ships that sail up the river St. Lawrence go no further than Quebec, the navigation is carried on in barges to lake Ontario, which is only parted from lake Erie by a neck of land, where the French, upon their first settling, built Fort Niagara. It is on this spot, in the neighbourhood of lake Erie, that the source of the river Ohio is found, which waters the finest country in the world, and being increased by the many rivers that fall into it, discharges itself into the Mississippi.

THE French however made no use of this magnificent canal. The trifling intercourse that subsisted between the two colonies was always carried on by the northern regions. The new way, which was much shorter and easier than the old, first began to be frequented by a body of troops that were sent over to Canada in 1739, to assist the colony of Louisiana, then engaged in an open war with the Indians. After this expedition, the southern road was again forgotten, and was never thought of till the year 1753. At that period,
several

several small forts were erected along the Ohio, BOOK
XVI. the course of which had been traced for four years past. The most considerable of these forts took its name from the governor Duquesne who had built it.

THE English colonies could not see without concern French settlements raised behind them, which joined to the old ones, and seemed to surround them. They were apprehensive lest the Apalachian mountains, which were to form the natural boundaries between both nations, should not prove a sufficient barrier against the attempts of a restless and warlike neighbour. Urged by this motive, they themselves passed these famous mountains, to dispute the possession of the Ohio with the rival nation. This first step proved unsuccessful. The several parties that were successively sent out, were routed; and the forts were demolished as fast as they were built.

To put an end to these national affronts, and revenge the disgrace they reflected on the mother-country, a large body of troops was sent over, under the command of general Braddock. In the summer of 1755, as this general was marching to attack Fort Duquesne with 36 pieces of cannon and 6000 men, he was surprised, within four leagues of the place, by 250 Frenchmen and 650 Indians, and all his army cut to pieces. This unaccountable disaster put a stop to the march of three numerous bodies that were advancing to fall upon Canada. The terror occasioned by this accident, made them hasten back to their quarters,

B O O K
XVI.

and in the next campaign all their motions were guided by the most timorous caution.

THE French were emboldened by this perplexity, and though very much inferior to the English, ventured to appear before Oswego in August 1756. It was originally a fortified magazine at the mouth of the river Onondago on the lake Ontario. It stood nearly in the centre of Canada, in so advantageous a situation, that many works had from time to time been erected there, which had rendered it one of the most capital posts in those parts. It was garrisoned by 1800 men, with 121 pieces of cannon, and great plenty of stores of all kinds. Though so well provided, it surrendered in a few days to the impetuous and bold attacks of 3000 men who were laying siege to it.

IN August 1757, 5500 French and 1800 Indians marched up to Fort George, situated on lake Sacrament, which was justly considered as the bulwark of the English settlements, and the rendezvous of all the forces destined against Canada. Nature and art had conspired to block up the roads leading to that place, and to make all access impracticable. These advantages were further strengthened by several bodies of troops, placed at proper distances in the best positions. Yet these obstacles were surmounted with such prudence and intrepidity, as would have been memorable in history, had the scene of action lain in a more distinguished spot. The French, after killing or dispersing all the small parties they

they met with, arrived before the place, and forced ^{B O O K} the garrison, consisting of 2264 men, to capitulate. ^{XVI.}

THIS fresh disaster roused the English. Their generals applied themselves during the winter to the training up of their men, and bringing the several troops under a proper discipline. They made them exercise in the woods, in fighting after the Indian manner. In the spring, the army, consisting of 6300 regulars, and 13,000 militia belonging to the colonies, assembled on the ruins of Fort George. They embarked on lake Sacrament, which parted the colonies of both nations, and marched up to Carillon, which was only at the distance of one league.

THAT fort, which had been but lately erected on the breaking out of the war, to cover Canada, was not of sufficient extent to withstand the forces that were marching against it. Intrenchments were formed hastily under the cannon of the fort, with stems of trees heaped up one upon another, and large trees were laid in front, the branches of which being cut and sharpened, answered the purpose of chevaux-de-frise. The colours were planted on the top of the ramparts, behind which lay 3500 men.

THE English were not dismayed at these formidable appearances, being fully determined to remove the disgrace of their former miscarriages in a country where the prosperity of their trade depended on the success of their arms. On the 8th of July 1758, they rushed upon these palliades with the most extravagant fury. Neither

B O O K
XVI.

were they disconcerted by the French firing upon them from the top of the parapet, while they were unable to defend themselves. They fell upon the sharp spikes, and were entangled among the stumps and boughs through which their eagerness had made them rush. All these losses served but to increase their impetuous rage, which continued upwards of four hours, and cost them above 4000 of their brave men before they would give up this rash and desperate undertaking.

THEY were equally unsuccessful in smaller actions. They did not attack one post without meeting with a repulse. Every party they sent out was beaten, and every convoy intercepted. The severity of the winter might have been supposed to secure them, but even in this rigorous season the Indians and Canadians carried fire and sword to the frontiers, and into the very centre of the English colonies.

ALL these disasters were owen to a false principle of government. The court of London had always entertained a notion that the superiority of their navy was alone sufficient to assert their dominion in America, as it afforded a ready conveyance for succours, and could easily intercept the enemy's forces.

THOUGH experience had shewn the fallacy of this idea, the ministry did not even endeavour, by a proper choice of generals, to rectify the fatal effects it had produced. Almost all those who were employed in this service were deficient in point of abilities and activity.

THE

THE armies were not likely to make amends ^{B O O K} for the defects of their commanders. The troops ^{XVI.} indeed were not wanting in that daring spirit and invincible courage, which is the characteristic of the English soldiers, arising from the climate, and still more from the nature of their government; but these national qualities were counterbalanced or extinguished by the hardships they underwent, in a country destitute of all the conveniencies that Europe affords. As to the militia of the colonies, it was composed of peaceable husbandmen, who were not, like most of the French colonists, inured to slaughter by a habit of hunting, and by military ardour.

To these disadvantages, arising from the nature of things, were added others altogether owing to misconduct. The posts erected for the safety of the several English settlements, were not so contrived as to support and assist each other. The provinces having all separate interests, and not being united under the authority of one head, did not concur in those joint efforts for the good of the whole, and that unanimity of sentiments, which alone can insure the success of their measures. The season of action was wasted in vain altercations between the governors and the colonists. Every plan of operation that met with opposition from any set of men was dropped. If any one was agreed upon, it was certainly made public before the execution, and by that means rendered abortive. To this may be added, the irreconcilable hatred subsisting between them and the Indians,

B O O K
XVI.

THESE nations had always shewn a visible partiality for the French, in return for their kindness in sending them missionaries, whom they considered rather as ambassadors from the prince, than as sent from God. These missionaries, by studying the language of the savages, conforming to their temper and inclinations, and putting in practice every attention to gain their confidence, had acquired an absolute dominion over their minds. The French colonists, far from communicating to them the European manners, had adopted those of the savages they lived with: their indolence in time of peace, their activity in war, and their constant fondness for a wandering life. Several officers of distinction had even been incorporated with them. The hatred and jealousy of the English has traduced them on this account, and they have not scrupled to assert that these generous men had given money for the skulls of their enemies; that they joined in the horrid dances that accompany the execution of their prisoners, imitated their cruelties, and partook of their barbarous festivals. But these enormities would be better adapted to people who have substituted national to religious fanaticism, and are more inclined to hate other nations, than to love their own government.

THE strong attachment of the Indians to the French was productive of the most inveterate hatred against the English. Of all the European savages, these were, in their opinion, the hardest to tame. Their aversion soon rose to madness; and they even thirsted for English blood, when they

found that a reward was offered for their destruction, and that they were to be expelled their native land by foreign assassins. The same hands which had enriched the English colony with their furs, now took up the hatchet to destroy it. The Indians pursued the English with as much eagerness as they did the wild beasts. Glory was no longer their aim in battle, their only object was slaughter. They destroyed armies which the French only wished to subdue. Their fury rose to such a height, that an English prisoner having been conducted into a lonely habitation, the woman immediately cut off his arm, and made her family drink the blood that ran from it. A Jesuit missionary reproaching her with the atrociousness of the action, her answer was; *my children must be warriors, and therefore must be fed with the blood of their enemies.*

BOOK
XVI.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, when an English fleet, consisting of three hundred sail, and commanded by admiral Saunders, entered the river St. Lawrence at the end of June 1759. On a dark night, and with a very favourable wind, eight fire-ships were sent out to destroy it. Not a ship nor a man could have escaped, if the operation had been carried on with that degree of skill, coolness, and courage, which it required. But those who had undertaken it were perhaps deficient in every one of these qualities, or at least did not unite them all. Impatient to secure their return to land, they set fire to the ships under their management a great deal too soon, and the enemy being warned by this of the danger

Taking of
Quebec by
the English.
The conquest of this
capital
brings on in
time the
surrender of
the whole
colony.

B O O K
XVI. that threatened them, escaped it by their activity and boldness, at the expence only of two small vessels.


WHILE the naval forces had so fortunately escaped being destroyed, the army, consisting of ten thousand men, was attacking Lévy Point, drove away the French troops which were intrenched there, erected their own batteries, and bombarded Quebec with the greatest success. This town, though situated on the opposite shore of the river, was nevertheless at no greater distance from it than six hundred toises.

BUT these disadvantages did not lead to the design which the English had in view. Their intention was to become masters of the capital of the colony, and the coast by which they must have reached it was so well defended by redoubts, batteries, and troops, that it seemed inaccessible. The enemy were more and more confirmed in this opinion after they had attempted the fall of Montmorency, where they lost fifteen hundred men, and where they might easily have lost all the men they had imprudently landed there.

IN the mean time the season was advancing, Général Amherst, who was to have caused a diversion towards the lake, did not make his appearance; and every hope was even given up of forcing the French in their posts. A general discouragement was beginning to prevail, when Mr. Murray proposed to go with the army and part of the fleet two miles above the town, and to seize upon the heights of Abraham, which the French

French had neglected to guard, because they ^{B O O K} thought them sufficiently defended by the very ^{XVI.} steep rocks which surrounded them. This brilliant and fortunate idea was eagerly adopted. On the 13th of December, five thousand English landed at the foot of the heights before day-break, and without being perceived. They clambered up without losing any time, and formed the line of battle on the top of them, when at nine o'clock they were attacked by two thousand soldiers, five thousand Canadians, and five hundred savages. The action began, and proved favourable to the English, who at the beginning of it had lost the intrepid Wolfe, their general, but did not lose their confidence and resolution.

THIS was gaining a considerable advantage, but it might not have been decisive. The troops that were posted within a few leagues of the field of battle, might have been collected in twelve hours, to join the vanquished army, and march up to the conqueror with a superior force. This was the opinion of general Montcalm, who being mortally wounded in the retreat, had time enough before he expired, to consult the safety of his men, and to encourage them to repair their disaster. This generous motion was over-ruled by the council of war. The army removed ten leagues off. The chevalier de Levy, who had hastened from his post to succeed Montcalm, censured this want of courage. The French were ashamed of it, wished to recall it, and make another attempt for victory, but it was too late. Quebec, though
three

B O O K three parts destroyed, had capitulated too precipi-
XVI.  pitately on the 17th.

ALL Europe thought that the taking of this place had put an end to the great contest in North America. They never imagined that a handful of Frenchmen, in want of every thing, who seemed to be in a desperate condition, would dare to think of protracting their inevitable fate. They did not know what these people were capable of doing. They hastily completed some intrenchments that had been begun ten leagues above Quebec. There they left troops sufficient to stop the progress of the enemy; and proceeded to Montreal, to concert measures to retrieve their disgrace.

It was there agreed that in the spring they should march with an armed force against Quebec, to retake it by surprise, or if that should fail, to besiege it in form. They had nothing in readiness for that purpose, but the plan was so concerted, that they should enter upon the undertaking just at the instant when the succours expected from France must necessarily arrive.

THOUGH the colony had long been in want of every thing, the preparations were already made, when the ice, which covered the whole river, began to give way towards the middle, and opened a small canal. They dragged some boats over the ice, and put them into the water. The army, consisting of citizens and soldiers, who made but one body, and were animated with one soul, fell down this stream, with inconceivable ardour, as
 early

early as the 20th of April 1760. The English ^{B O O K} thought they still lay quiet in their winter quar- ^{XVI.}ters. The army, already landed, came up with an advanced guard of 1500 men, posted three leagues from Quebec. This party was just upon the point of being cut to pieces, had it not been for one of those unaccountable incidents which no human prudence can foresee.

A GUNNER, attempting to step out of his boat, had fallen into the water. He caught hold of a flake of ice, climbed up upon it, and was carried down the stream. As he passed by Quebec, close to the shore, he was seen by a centinel, who observing a man in distress, called out for help. The English flew to his assistance, and found him motionless. They knew him by his uniform to be a French soldier, and carried him to the governor's house, where, by the help of spirituous liquors, they recalled him to life for a moment. He just recovered his speech enough to tell them that an army of 10,000 French was at the gates, and expired. The governor immediately dispatched orders to the advanced guard to retire within the walls with all expedition. Notwithstanding their precipitate retreat, the French had time to attack their rear. A few moments later, they would have been defeated, and the city retaken.

THE assailants however marched on with an intrepidity which indicated that they expected every thing from their valour, and thought no more of a surprise. They were within a league of the town, when they were met by a body of 4000 men,

BOOK
XVI.

men, who were sent out to intercept them. The onset was sharp, and the resistance obstinate. The English were driven back within their walls, leaving 1800 of their bravest men upon the spot, and their artillery in the enemy's hands.

THE trenches were immediately opened before Quebec; but as the French had none but field-pieces, as no succours came from France, and as a strong English squadron was coming up the river, they were obliged to raise the siege on the 16th of May, and to retreat from post to post till they arrived at Montreal. These troops, which were not very numerous at first, were now exceedingly reduced by frequent skirmishes and continual fatigues, were in want both of provisions and warlike stores, and found themselves inclosed in an open place; being surrounded by three formidable armies, one of which was come down and another up the river, while the third had passed over lake Champlain. These miserable remains of a body of seven thousand men, who had never been recruited, and had so much signalized themselves with the help of a few militia and Indians, were at last forced to capitulate for the whole colony. The conquest was confirmed by the treaty of peace, when this country was added to the possessions of the English in North America.

Had the acquisition of Canada been advantageous or prejudicial to England?

How confined are the views of politics! The English considered this acquisition as the ultimate period of their grandeur, and the French ministry were not more enlightened than the British council. On one hand every thing was thought

to be won by this conquest ; on the other, every thing was thought to be lost by a sacrifice which was to bring on the ruin of an irreconcilable enemy. Such is the necessary concatenation of the events which incessantly change the interests of empires, that it hath often happened, and will frequently happen hereafter, that the most profound speculations, and the measures apparently the most prudent, have been, and will still be erroneous. The advantage of the moment is the only thing considered, in circumstances where nothing is so common as to see good spring from evil, and evil arise from good. If it be true of some individuals, that they have for a long time wished for what has proved their misfortune ; it is still more true of sovereigns. The caprices of fortune, which are so apt to sport with the prudence of man, are never taken into the calculation, and indeed there is no occasion for it, when some unfortunate casualty is concealed in a distant and obscure futurity ; when it is almost devoid of probability, and when, supposing it should happen, total ruin will not be the consequence. But the people will be governed by a mad ministry, when, without considering the tranquillity and the safety of the state, they shall think of nothing but its aggrandizement : when, without considering whether a miserable little island will not occasion cares and expences which cannot be compensated by any advantage, they will suffer themselves to be dazzled with the frivolous glory of having added it to the national dominion : when, by refusing to make restitutions that were

B O O R
XVI.

were agreed upon, they shall cement between the usurping power and that which is injured, a hatred which will, sooner or later, be followed by the effusion of blood, upon the sea and upon the continent: when, for the preservation of a few places, it shall be necessary to keep a number of soldiers shut up, who will grow degenerate by a long continuance in idleness: when lasting jealousies shall be excited, or pretensions encouraged, which are ever ready to be renewed, and to engage two nations in war with each other: when it shall be forgotten, that a nation settled between one empire and another, is sometimes the best barrier that can be interposed between them; and that it is imprudent and dangerous to acquire, by the extinction of the intermediate nation, an ambitious, turbulent, warlike, and powerful neighbour: when it shall be forgotten, that every domain, separated from a state by a vast interval, is precarious, expensive, ill-defended, and ill-governed; that it would be, beyond any kind of doubt, a real misfortune for two nations to have any possession on one side and on the other of a river which serves as their boundary: that to renounce a country claimed by several powers, is commonly to spare superfluous expences, alarms, and contests; and that to cede it to one of those who were desirous of obtaining it, is the only way to throw the same calamities upon them: in a word, when it shall be forgotten that a sovereign, who is really a man of genius, will perhaps display

display it less in availing himself of the real ^{BOOK}
advantages of his country, than in giving up ^{XVI.}
to rival nations deceitful advantages, the fatal
consequences of which they can only be sensible of in process of time; this is a kind of
snare which the rage of extending their dominions will ever conceal from them.

B O O K XVII.

English Colonies settled at Hudson's Bay, Canada, the Island of St. John, Newfoundland, Nova-Scotia, New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey.

B O O K
XVII.

First expe-
ditions of
the English
in North
America.

THE desire of penetrating into futurity hath been the passion of all ages. The entrails of animals, and the blood of victims, hath appeared to some people an infallible mode of discovering the destiny of empires. Others have placed the science of divination in dreams, which they have chosen to consider as the most certain interpreters of the will of heaven. Whole nations have pretended to compel fate to reveal itself by the flight of birds, and other presages equally frivolous. But, the consulting of the stars hath been the most favourite of these modes of auguration. Men have thought, that in these they beheld, marked out in characters not to be effaced, the revolutions, more or less important, which were to agitate the globe. These reveries had not subdued the minds of the vulgar only; they acquired an equal ascendant over men of the first genius.

SINCE

SINCE sound philosophy hath destroyed these chimeras, mankind have split upon another rock. A spirit of presumption, too prevalent, hath induced men to believe, that nothing was more feasible than to determine, by combinations settled without much difficulty, what was to happen in politics. Undoubtedly, it was possible for persons of attention and reflection to foresee some events; but how many mistakes will not happen to one fortunate conjecture!

B. O. O. K
XVII.

THE British islands have been drenched in blood. Numberless factions and sects have destroyed each other there, with a degree of obstinacy, the fatal example of which hath rarely been displayed in the deplorable annals of the world. Who could have conjectured, that the prosperity of North America would have arisen from so many calamities?

ENGLAND was only known in America by her piracies, which were often successful, and always bold, when Sir Walter Raleigh conceived the project to procure his nation a share of the prodigious riches, which, for near a century past, had flowed from that hemisphere into ours. This great man, who was born for bold undertakings, cast his eye on the eastern coast of North America. The talent he had, of bringing men over to his opinion, by representing all his proposals in a striking light, soon procured him associates, both at court and among the merchants. The company that was formed in consequence of his magnificent promises, obtained of government, in 1584, the absolute disposal of all the discoveries

First expeditions of the English in North America.

B O O K
XVII.

that should be made; and without any further encouragement, they fitted out two ships in April following, that anchored in Roanoak bay, which now makes a part of Carolina. Their commanders, worthy of the trust reposed in them, behaved with remarkable affability in a country where they wanted to settle their nation, and left the savages at liberty to make their own terms in the trade they proposed to open with them.

THE reports made by these successful navigators, on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the disposition of the inhabitants, encouraged the society to proceed. They accordingly sent seven ships the following spring, which landed a hundred and eight free men at Roanoak, for the purpose of commencing a settlement. Part of them were murdered by the savages, whom they had insulted, and the rest, having been so improvident as to neglect the culture of the land, were perishing with misery and hunger, when a deliverer came to their relief.

THIS was Sir Francis Drake, so famous among seamen for being the next after Magellan who sailed round the globe. The abilities he had shewn in that great expedition, induced Queen Elizabeth to make choice of him to humble Philip II. in that part of his extensive dominions, where he used to disturb the peace of other nations. Few orders were ever more punctually executed. The English fleet seized upon St. Jago, Carthagena; St. Domingo, and several other important places, and took a great many rich

rich ships. His instructions were, after these operations, to proceed and offer his assistance to the colony at Roanok. The wretched few who survived the numberless calamities that had befallen them, were in such despair, that they refused all assistance, and only begged he would convey them to their native country. The admiral complied with their request; and thus the expences that had been hitherto bestowed on the settlement were entirely thrown away.

THE associates were not discouraged by this unforeseen event. From time to time they sent over a few colonists, who, in the year 1589, amounted to a hundred and fifteen persons of both sexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted for their defence, and for the purposes of agriculture and commerce. These beginnings raised some expectations, but they were frustrated by the disgrace of Raleigh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having lost its founder, was totally forgotten.

It had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Gosbold, one of the first associates, resolved to visit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him suspect that the right track had not been found out, and that in steering by the Canary and Caribbee islands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thousand leagues. These conjectures induced him to steer away from the south, and to turn more westward. The attempt succeeded; but when he reached the American coast, he found himself

B O O K
XVII.

further north than any navigators who had gone before. The country where he landed, which now makes a part of New-England, afforded him plenty of beautiful furs, with which he sailed back to England.

THE rapidity and success of this undertaking made a strong impression upon the English merchants. Several of them joined in 1606 to form a settlement in the country that Gosnold had discovered. Their example revived in others the memory of the Roanoak; and this gave rise to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to carry on their monopoly was then known in England only by the general name of Virginia, the one was called the South-Virginia, and the other the North-Virginia company.

THE zeal that had been shewn at first soon abated, and there appeared to be more jealousy than emulation between the two companies. Though they had been favoured with the first lottery that ever was drawn in England, their progress was so slow, that in 1614 there were not above four hundred persons in both settlements. That sort of competency which was answerable to the simplicity of the manners of the times, was then so general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad in quest of a fortune. It is a sense of misfortune that gives men a dislike to their native country, still more than the desire of acquiring riches. Nothing less than some extraordinary commotion could then have sent inhabitants even into an excellent country. This emigration was at length occasioned by superstition, which

which had given rise to commotions from the collision of religious opinions.

B O O K
XVII.

THE first priests of the Britons were the Druids, so famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a mysterious veil upon the ceremonies of a savage worship, their rites were never performed but in dark recesses, and generally in gloomy groves, where fear creates spectres and apparitions. Only a few persons were initiated into these mysteries, and intrusted with the sacred doctrines; and even these were not allowed to commit any thing to writing upon this important subject; lest their secrets should fall into the hands of the prophane vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity were stained with the blood of human victims, and enriched with the most precious spoils of war. Though the dread of the vengeance of heaven was the only guard of these treasures, yet they were always deemed sacred, because the Druids had artfully repressed a thirst after riches, by inculcating the fundamental doctrine of the endless transmigration of the soul. The chief authority of government was vested in the ministers of that terrible religion; because men are more powerfully and more constantly swayed by opinion than by any other motive. They were intrusted with the education of youth, and they maintained through life the ascendancy they acquired in that early age. They took cognizance of all civil and criminal causes, and were as absolute in their decisions on state affairs as on the private differences between individuals. Whoever dared to resist their decrees, was not only excluded from

The continent of America is peopled in consequence of the religious wars that disturb England.

B O O K
XVII.

all participation in the divine mysteries, but even from the society of men. It was accounted a crime and a reproach to hold any intercourse with him; he was irrevocably deprived of the protection of the laws, and nothing but death could put an end to his miseries. The history of human superstitions affords no instance of any one so tyrannical as that of the Druids. It was the only one that provoked the Romans to use severity; with so much violence did the Druids oppose the power of those conquerors.

THAT religion, however, had lost much of its influence, when it was totally abolished by Christianity in the seventh century. The northern nations, that had successively invaded the southern provinces of Europe, had found there the seeds of that new religion, amidst the ruins of an empire that was shaking on all sides. Their indifference for their distant gods, or that credulity which is ever the companion of ignorance, induced them readily to embrace a form of worship which, from the multiplicity of its ceremonies, could not but attract the notice of rude and savage men. The Saxons, who afterwards invaded England, followed their example, and adopted without difficulty a religion that justified their conquests, expiated the criminality of them, and insured their permanency by abolishing the ancient forms of worship.

THE effects were such as might be expected from a religion, the original simplicity of which was at that time so much disfigured. Idle contemplations were soon substituted in lieu of active
and

and social virtues; and a stupid veneration for unknown saints, took place of the worship of the Supreme Being. Miracles dazzled the eyes of men, and diverted them from attending to natural causes. They were taught to believe that prayers and offerings would atone for the most heinous crimes. Every sentiment of reason was perverted, and every principle of morality corrupted.

B O O K
XVII.

Those who had been the promoters of this confusion, knew how to avail themselves of it. The priests obtained that respect which was denied to kings; and their persons became sacred. The magistrate had no power of inspecting into their conduct, and they even evaded the watchfulness of the civil law. Their tribunal eluded, and even superseded, all others. They found means to introduce religion into every question of law, and into all state affairs, and made themselves umpires or judges in every cause. When faith spoke, every one listened in silent attention to its inexplicable oracles. Such was the infatuation of those dark ages, that the scandalous excesses of the clergy did not diminish their authority.

This authority was maintained by the immense riches the clergy had already acquired. As soon as they had taught, that religion was preserved principally by sacrifices, and required first of all that of fortune and earthly possessions, the nobility, who were sole proprietors of all estates, employed their slaves to build churches, and allotted their lands to the endowment of those foundations. Kings gave to the church all that they had extorted from the people; and stripped them-

B O O K
XVII.

felves to such a degree, as even not to leave a sufficiency for the payment of the army, or for defraying the other charges of government. These deficiencies were never made up by those who were the cause of them. They were not concerned in any of the public expences. The payment of taxes with the revenues of the church would have been a sacrilege, and a prostitution of holy things to profane purposes. Such was the declaration of the clergy, and the laity believed them. The possession of the third part of the feudal tenures in the kingdom, the free-will offerings of a deluded people, and the large fees required for all priestly offices, did not satisfy the enormous avidity of the clergy, ever attentive to their own interest. They found in the Old Testament, that by divine appointment they had an undoubted right to the tithes of the produce of the land. This claim was so readily admitted, that they extended it to the tithe of industry, of the profits on trade, of the wages of labourers, of the pay of soldiers, and sometimes of the salaries of placemen.

ROME, which at first was a silent spectator of these proceedings, and proudly enjoyed the success that attended the rich and haughty ministers of a Saviour born in obscurity, and condemned to an ignominious death, soon coveted a share in the spoils of England. The first step she took was to open a trade for relics, which were always ushered in with some striking miracle, and sold in proportion to the credulity of the purchasers. The great men, and even monarchs, were invited to go in pilgrimage

pilgrimage to the capital of the world, to purchase a place in heaven suitable to the rank they held on earth. The popes by degrees assumed the presentation to church preferments, which at first they gave away, but afterwards sold. By these means their tribunal took cognizance of all ecclesiastical causes, and in time they claimed a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, who themselves levied the tenth of all the substance of the realm.

WHEN these pious extortions were carried as far as they possibly could be in England, Rome aspired to the supreme authority over it. Her ambitious deceit was covered with a sacred veil. She sapped the foundations of liberty, by employing the influence of opinion only. This was setting men at variance with themselves, and availing herself of their prejudices, in order to acquire an absolute dominion over them. She usurped the power of a despotic arbitrator between the altar and the throne, between the prince and his subjects, between one potentate and another. She kindled the flames of war with her spiritual thunders. But she wanted emissaries to spread the terror of her arms, and made choice of the monks for that purpose. The secular clergy, notwithstanding their celibacy, which kept them from forming connections in the world, were still attached to it by the ties of interest, often stronger than those of blood. A set of men, secluded from society by singular institutions, which must incline them to fanaticism, and by a blind submission to the dictates of a foreign pontiff, were best adapted to second the views of such a sovereign. These
vile

BOOK
XVII.

vile and abject tools of superstition executed their fatal employment successfully. By their intrigues assisted with the concurrence of favourable circumstances, England, which had so long withstood the conquering arms of the ancient Roman empire, became tributary to modern Rome.

At length the passions and violent caprices of Henry VIII. broke the scandalous dependence. The abuse of so infamous a power had already opened the eyes of the nation. This prince ventured at once to shake off the authority of the pope, abolish monasteries, and assume the supremacy over his own church.

This open schism was followed by other alterations in the reign of Edward, son and successor to Henry. The religious opinions, which were then changing the face of Europe, were openly discussed. Something was taken from every one; many doctrines and rites of the old form of worship were retained; and from these several systems or tenets arose a new communion, distinguished by the name of the Church of England.

ELIZABETH, who completed this important work, found theory alone too subtle, and thought it most expedient to captivate the senses, by the addition of some ceremonies. Her natural taste for grandeur, and the desire of putting a stop to the disputes about points of doctrine, by entertaining the eye with the external parade of worship, inclined her to adopt a greater number of religious rites. But she was restrained by political considerations, and was obliged to sacrifice something to the prejudices of a party that had raised

raised her to the throne, and was able to maintain her upon it. BOOK
XVII.

FAR from suspecting that James I. would execute what Elizabeth had not even dared to attempt, it might be expected that he would rather have been inclined to restrain ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies: that prince having been trained up in the principles of the Presbyterians, a sect which, with much spiritual pride, affected great simplicity of dress, gravity of manners, and austerity of doctrine, which loved to speak in scripture phrases, and gave none but scripture names to their children. One would have supposed that such an education must have prejudiced the king against the outward pomp of the catholic worship, and every thing that bore any affinity to it. But the spirit of system prevailed over the principles of education. Stricken with the episcopal jurisdiction which he found established in England, and which he thought conformable to his own notions of civil government, he abandoned, from conviction, the early impressions he had received, and grew passionately fond of a hierarchy modelled upon the political oeconomy of a well-constituted empire. Instigated by his enthusiasm, he wanted to introduce this wonderful system into Scotland, his native country, and to engage a great many of the English, who still dissented, to embrace it. He even intended to add the pomp of the most awful ceremonies to the majestic plan, if he could have carried his grand projects into execution. But the opposition he met with at first setting out, would

BOOK
XVII.

would not permit him to advance any further in his system of reformation. He contented himself with recommending to his son to resume his views, whenever the times should furnish a favourable opportunity; and represented the Presbyterians to him as alike dangerous to religion and to the throne.

CHARLES readily followed his advice, which was but too conformable to the principles of despotism he had imbibed from Buckingham his favourite, the most corrupt of men, and the corrupter of the courtiers. To pave the way to the revolution he was meditating, he promoted several bishops to the highest dignities in the government, and conferred on them most of the offices that imparted a great share of influence in all public measures. These ambitious prelates, now become the masters of a prince who had been weak enough to be guided by the instigations of others, betrayed that spirit so frequent among the clergy, of exalting ecclesiastical jurisdiction under the shadow of the royal prerogative. They multiplied the church ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apostolical institution; and to enforce their observance, had recourse to acts of arbitrary power exercised by the king. It was evident that there was a settled design of restoring, in all its splendour, what the Protestants called Romish idolatry, though the most violent means should be necessary to compass it. This project gave the more umbrage, as it was supported by the prejudices and intrigues of a presumptuous

sumptuous queen, who had brought from France BOOK
XVII.
an immoderate passion for popery and arbitrary power.

It can scarcely be imagined what acrimony these alarming suspicions had raised in the minds of the people. Common prudence would have allowed time for the ferment to subside. But the spirit of fanaticism endeavoured, even in these troublesome times, to restore every thing to the unity of the church of England, which was become more odious to the dissenters, since so many customs had been introduced into it which they considered as superstitious. An order was issued, that both kingdoms should conform to the worship and discipline of the episcopal church. This law included the Presbyterians, who then began to be called Puritans, because they professed to take the pure and simple word of God for the rule of their faith and practice. It was extended likewise to all the foreign Calvinists that were in the kingdom, whatever difference there might be in their opinions. This hierarchal worship was enjoined to the regiments and trading companies dispersed in the several countries of Europe. The English ambassadors were also required to separate from all communion with the foreign Protestants, so that England lost all the influence she had acquired abroad, as the head and support of the Reformation.

In this fatal crisis, most of the Puritans were divided between submission and opposition. Those who would neither stoop to yield, nor take the pains to resist, turned their views towards North-America,

BOOK
XVII,

America, in search of that civil and religious liberty which their ungrateful country denied them. Their enemies, in order to have an opportunity of persecuting them more at leisure, attempted to preclude these devout fugitives from this asylum, where they wanted to worship God in their own way in a desert land. Eight ships that lay at anchor in the Thames, ready to sail, were stopped; and Cromwell is said to have been detained there by that very king, whom he afterwards brought to the scaffold. Enthusiasm, however, stronger than the rage of persecution, surmounted every obstacle; and that part of America was soon filled with Presbyterians. The satisfaction they enjoyed in their retreat, gradually induced all those of their party to follow them, who were not so evil-minded as to delight in the view of those dreadful scenes, which soon after made England a scene of blood and horror. Many were afterwards induced to remove thither in more peaceable times, with a view of advancing their fortunes. In a word, all Europe contributed greatly to increase their population. Thousands of unhappy men, oppressed by the tyranny or intolerant spirit of their sovereigns, took refuge in that hemisphere; concerning which we shall now pursue our inquiries, and endeavour, before we quit the spot, to gain some information respecting it.

Parallel between the
Old and the
New World.

It is surprising that so little should have been known of the New World, for so long a time after it was discovered. Barbarous soldiers and rapacious merchants were not proper persons to give us just and clear notions of this hemisphere.

It

It was the province of philosophy alone to avail ^{B O. O. K. XVII.} itself of the informations scattered in the accounts of voyages and missionaries, in order to see America such as nature hath made it, and to find out its analogy to the rest of the globe.

It is now pretty certain that the new continent has not half the extent of surface that the old has. At the same time, the form of both is so singularly alike, that we might easily be inclined to draw consequences from this particular, if it were not always necessary to be upon our guard against the spirit of system which often stops us in our researches after truth, and hinders us from attaining it.

THE two continents seem to form, as it were, two broad tracks of land that begin from the Arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, divided on the East and West by the ocean that surrounds them. Whatever may be the structure of these two continents, and the quality or symmetry of their form, it is evident that their equilibrium does not depend upon their position. It is the inconstancy of the sea that constitutes the solid form of the earth. To fix the globe upon its basis, it seemed necessary to have an element which, floating incessantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other substances, and by its fluidity restore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have disturbed. Water, by its natural fluctuation and weight, is the most proper element to preserve the connection and balance of the several parts of the globe round its centre.

If

BOOK
XVII.

If our hemisphere has a very wide extent of continent to the North, a mass of water of equal weight at the opposite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals; under the same latitude America will have a sea filled with fish. While forests full of trees, bending with the largest fruits, quadrupeds of the greatest size, the most populous nations, elephants and men, are a load upon the surface of the earth, and seem to absorb all its fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles are found whales, with innumerable multitudes of cods and herrings, clouds of insects, and all the infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the seas, as it were, to support the axis of the earth, and prevent its inclining or deviating to either side: if, indeed, elephants, whales, or men, can be said to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a transient modification of the earth that composes it. In a word, the ocean rolls over this globe to fashion it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers a hemisphere, a pole, or a zone, which at other times it leaves bare; but in general it seems to affect the equator, more especially as the cold of the poles in some measure contracts that fluidity which is essential to it, and from which it receives all its power of motion. It is chiefly between the tropics that the sea extends itself and is agitated, and that it undergoes the greatest change, both in its regular and periodical motions, as well as in those violent agitations

occa-

occasionally excited in it by tempestuous winds. The attraction of the sun, and the fermentations occasioned by its continual heat in the torrid zone, must have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence, and the sea, to conform itself to this double impulse, must, it would seem, flow towards the equator. Nothing but the flatness of the globe at the poles can possibly account for that immense extent of water that has hitherto concealed from us the lands near the South pole. The sea cannot easily pass the boundaries of the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones be not nearer to the centre of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the sea therefore that maintains an equilibrium with the land, and disposes the arrangement of the materials that compose it. One proof that the analogous portions of land, which the two continents of the globe present at first view, are not essentially necessary to its conformation, is, that the New Hemisphere has remained covered with the waters of the sea, a much longer time than the Old. Besides, if there be an evident similitude between the two hemispheres, there are also differences between them, which will perhaps destroy that harmony we think we observe.

WHEN we consider the map of the world, and see the local correspondence between the isthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the East Indies and that of the Caribbee Islands, and between the mountains of Chili and those

B O O K
XVII.

those of Monomotapa; we are stricken with the similarity of the several forms this picture presents. Land seems on all sides to be opposed to land, water to water, islands and peninsulas scattered by the hand of nature to serve as a counterpoise, and the sea, by its fluctuation, constantly maintaining the balance of the whole. But if on the other hand we compare the great extent of the Pacific Ocean, which separates the East and West Indies, with the small space which the ocean occupies between the coast of Guinea and that of Brazil; the vast quantity of inhabited land to the North, with the little we know towards the South; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from East to West, with that of the Cordeleras which run from North to South; the mind is in suspense, and we have the mortification to see the order and symmetry vanish, with which we had embellished our system of the earth. The observer is still more displeased with his conjectures, when he considers the immense height of the mountains of Peru. He is then astonished to see a continent so recent, and yet so elevated, the sea so much below the tops of these mountains, and yet so recently come down from the lands that seemed to be effectually defended from its attacks by those tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the New Hemisphere have been covered with the sea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

THE rivers, which in America are wider and of greater extent; the immense forests to the South; the spacious lakes and vast morasses to the North;

North; the almost eternal snows between the tropics; few of those pure sands that seem to be the remains of an exhausted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line; a cool and mild air in the same latitude as the sultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and severe climate under the same parallel as our temperate climates; and lastly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees in the temperature of the Old and New Hemispheres; these are so many tokens of a world that is still in its infancy.

WHY should the continent of America be much warmer and much colder in proportion than that of Europe, if it were not for the moisture the ocean has left behind, in quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the sea can possibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Asia. If the waters that still moisten the bowels of the earth in the New Hemisphere had not covered its surface, the woods would very easily have been cut down, the fens drained, a soft and watery soil would have been made firm, by stirring it up, and exposing it to the rays of the sun; a free passage would have been open to the winds, and dikes would have been raised along the rivers; in a word, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemisphere denotes a recent world; when the sea, about its coasts, still flows obscurely in its channels. A less scorching sun, more plentiful rains, and thicker vapours, more disposed to stagnate, are

B O O K
XVII. evident marks of the decay or the infancy of nature.

THE difference of climate, arising from the waters having lain so long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals. From this diversity of causes must necessarily arise a very great diversity of effects. Accordingly, we see more species of animals, by two-thirds, in the old continent than the new; animals of the same kind considerably larger; monsters that are become more savage and fierce, as the countries have become more inhabited. On the other hand, nature seems to have strangely neglected the New World. The men have less strength and less courage; no beard and no hair; they have less appearances of manhood; and are but little susceptible of the lively and powerful sentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the first instinct, the first band of society, without which all other artificial ties have neither energy nor duration. The women, who are still more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and consider them merely as subservient to their will: they rather sacrifice them to their indolence, than consecrate them to their pleasures. This indolence is the great delight, and supreme felicity of the Americans, of which the women are the victims, from the continual labours imposed upon them. It must, however, be confessed, that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have sentenced the women to work, have been so equitable as to take

take upon themselves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fishing. But their indifference for the sex, which nature has intrusted with the care of multiplying the species, implies an imperfection in their organs, a sort of state of childhood in the people of America, similar to that of the people in our continent, who are not yet arrived to the age of puberty. This seems to be a natural defect prevailing in the continent of America, which is an indication of its being a new country.

BOOK
XVII.

BUT if the Americans be a new people, are they a race of men originally distinct from those who cover the face of the Old World? This is a question which ought not to be too hastily decided. The origin of the population of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we assert that the Greenlanders first came from Norway, and then went over to the coast of Labrador; others will tell us, it is more natural to suppose that the Greenlanders are sprung from the Esquimaux, to whom they bear a greater resemblance than to the Europeans. If we should suppose that California was peopled from Kamtschatka, it may be asked, what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-west of America? Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or from Kamtschatka that the inhabitants of the Old World must have gone over to the New, as it is by those two countries that the two continents are connected, or at least approach nearest to one another. Besides, how

BOOK
XVII.

can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed spread from North to South, but it must naturally have begun under the equator, where life is cherished by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we must have recourse to the flood, which is the source and the solution of all difficulties in the history of nations.

LET us suppose that the sea having overflowed the other hemisphere, its old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordeleras, which are far higher than our Mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon those heights, covered with snow, and surrounded with waters? How is it possible, that men, who had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have survived the miseries of want, the inclemency of a tainted atmosphere, and those numberless calamities which must be the unavoidable consequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preserved and propagated in those times of general calamity, and in the miserable ages that must have succeeded? Notwithstanding all these objections, we must allow that America has been peopled from these wretched remains of the great devastation. Every thing exhibits the vestiges of a malady, of which the human race still feels the effects. The ruin of that world is still imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a species of men degraded and degenerated

rated in their natural constitution, in their stature, in their way of life, and in their understanding, which is but little advanced in all the arts of civilization. A damper air, and a more marshy ground, must necessarily have infected the first principles of the subsistence and increase of mankind. It must have required some ages to restore population, and still a greater number before the ground could be settled and dried, so as to be fit for tillage, and for the foundation of buildings. The air must necessarily be purified before the sky could clear, and the sky must necessarily be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection therefore of nature in America is not so much a proof of its recent origin, as of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the same time as the other hemisphere, but may have been overflowed later. The large fossil bones that are found under ground in America, shew that it had formerly elephants, rhinoceros, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have since disappeared in those regions. The gold and silver mines that are found just below the surface of the earth, are signs of a very ancient revolution of the globe, but later than those that have overturned our hemisphere.

SUPPOSE America had, by some means or other, been repeopled by our roving hords, that period would have been so remote, that it would still give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemisphere. Three or four centuries will not then be sufficient to allow for the foundation of the empire of Mexico and Peru; for though we find no

BOOK
XVII.

trace in these countries of our arts, or of the opinions and customs that prevail in other parts of the globe, yet we have found a police and a society established, inventions and practices which, though they did not shew any marks of times anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long series of ages subsequent to this catastrophe. For, though in Mexico, as in Egypt, a country surrounded with waters, mountains, and other invincible obstacles, must have forced the men inclosed in it to unite after a time, notwithstanding they might at first have destroyed each other in continual and bloody wars; yet it was only in process of time that they could invent and establish a form of worship and a legislation, which they could not possibly have borrowed from remote times or countries. It required a greater number of ages to render familiar the single art of speech, and that of writing, though but in hieroglyphics, to a whole nation unconnected with any other, and which must itself have created both these arts, than it would take up days to perfect a child in them. Ages bear not the same proportion to the whole race, as years do to individuals. The whole race is to occupy a vast field, both as to space and duration, while the individuals have only some moments or instants of time to fill up, or rather to run over. The likeness or uniformity observable in the features and manners of the American nations, plainly shew that they are not so ancient as those of our continent, which differ so much from each other; but at the same time this circumstance seems to confirm that they did

did not proceed from any foreign hemisphere, with which they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an immediate descent. BOOK
XVII.

WHATEVER may be the case with regard to their origin or their antiquity, which are both uncertain, it is perhaps more interesting to inquire whether those untutored nations are more or less happy than our civilized people. Let us, therefore, examine whether the condition of rude man left to mere animal instinct, who passes every day of his life in hunting, feeding, producing his species, and reposing himself, is better or worse than the condition of that wonderful being, who makes his bed of down, spins and weaves the thread of the silk-worm to clothe himself, hath exchanged the cave, his original abode, for a palace, and hath varied his indulgences and his wants in a thousand different ways.

Comparison
between ci-
vilized
people and
savages.

It is in the nature of man that we must look for his means of happiness. What does he want to be as happy as he can be? Present subsistence; and, if he should think of futurity, the hopes and certainty of enjoying that blessing. The savage, who has not been driven into and confined within the frigid zones by civilized societies, is not in want of this first of necessities. If he should lay in no stores, it is because the earth and the sea are reservoirs always open to supply his wants. Fish and game are to be had all the year, and will supply the want of fertility in the dead seasons. The savage has no house, well secured from the access of the external air, or commodious fire-places; but his furs answer all the purposes of the roof, the garment,

BOOK
XVII.

ment, and the stove. He works but for his own benefit, sleeps when he is weary, and is a stranger to watchings and restless nights. War is a matter of choice to him. Danger, like labour, is a condition of his nature, not a profession annexed to his birth; a national duty, not a domestic servitude. The savage is serious but not melancholy; and his countenance seldom bears the impression of those passions and disorders that leave such shocking and fatal marks on ours. He cannot feel the want of what he does not desire, nor can he desire what he is ignorant of. Most of the conveniencies of life are remedies for evils he does not feel. Pleasure is the mode of satisfying appetites which his senses are unacquainted with. He seldom experiences any of that weariness that arises from unsatisfied desires, or that emptiness and uneasiness of mind that is the offspring of prejudice and vanity. In a word, the savage is subject to none but natural evils.

BUT what greater happiness than this does the civilized man enjoy? His food is more wholesome and delicate than that of the savage. He has softer clothes, and a habitation better secured against the inclemencies of the weather. But the common people, who are to be the support and basis of civil society, those numbers of men who in all states bear the burden of hard labour, cannot be said to live happy, either in those empires where the consequences of war and the imperfection of the police have reduced them to a state of slavery, or in those governments where the progress of luxury and police has reduced them to a
state

state of servitude. The mixed governments seem to present some prospects of happiness under the protection of liberty; but this happiness is purchased by the most sanguinary exertions, which repel tyranny for a time only, that it may fall the heavier upon the devoted nation, sooner or later doomed to oppression. Observe how Caligula and Nero revenged the expulsion of the Tarquins, and the death of Cæsar.

TYRANNY, we are told, is the work of the people, and not of kings. But if so, why do they suffer it? Why do they not repel the incroachments of despotism; and while it employs violence and artifice to enslave all the faculties of men, why do they not oppose it with all their powers? But is it lawful to murmur and complain under the rod of the oppressor? Will it not exasperate and provoke him to pursue the victim to death? The complaints of slaves he calls rebellion, and they are to be stifled in a dungeon, and sometimes put an end to on a scaffold. The man who should assert the rights of man would perish in neglect and infamy. Tyranny, therefore, must be endured, under the name of authority.

If so, to what outrages is not the civilized man exposed! If he be possessed of any property, he knows not how far he may call it his own, when he must divide the produce between the courtier who may attack his estate, the lawyer who must be paid for teaching him how to preserve it, the soldier who may lay it waste, and the collector who comes to levy unlimited taxes.

If

BOOK XVII. **Q** If he should have no property, how can he be assured of a permanent subsistence? What species of industry is secured against the vicissitudes of fortune, and the incroachments of government?

IN the forests of America, if there be a scarcity in the north, the savages bend their course to the south. The wind or the sun will drive a wandering clan to more temperate climates. But if in our civilized states, confined within gates, and restrained within certain limits, famine, war, or pestilence should consume an empire, it is a prison where all must expect to perish in misery, or in the horrors of slaughter. The man who is unfortunately born there, is compelled to endure all extortions, all the severities that the inclemency of the seasons and the injustice of government may bring upon him.

IN our provinces, the vassal, or free mercenary, digs and ploughs, the whole year round, lands that are not his own, and the produce of which does not belong to him, and he is even happy if his labour can procure him a share of the crops he has sown and reaped. Observed and harassed by a hard and restless landlord, who grudges him even the straw on which he rests his weary limbs, the wretch is daily exposed to diseases, which, joined to his poverty, make him wish for death, rather than for an expensive cure, followed by infirmities and toil. Whether tenant or subject, he is doubly a slave; if he should possess a few acres, his lord comes and gathers upon them what he has not sown; if he be worth

but a yoke of oxen or a pair of horses, he must employ them in the public service; if he should have nothing but his person, the prince takes him for a soldier. Every where he meets with masters, and always with oppression.

BOOK
XVII.

IN our cities, the workmen and the artist who have no manufacture of their own are at the mercy of greedy and idle masters, who, by the privilege of monopoly, have purchased of government a power of making industry work for nothing, and of selling its labours at a very high price. The lower class have no more than the sight of that luxury of which they are doubly the victims, by the watchings and fatigues it occasions them, and by the insolence of the pomp that humiliates and oppresses them.

EVEN supposing that the dangerous labours of our quarries, mines, and forges, with all the arts that are performed by fire, and that the perils which navigation and commerce expose us to, were less pernicious than the roving life of the savages, who live upon hunting and fishing; suppose that men, who are ever lamenting the sorrows and affronts that arise merely from opinion, are less unhappy than the savages, who never shed a tear in the most excruciating tortures; there would still remain a wide difference between the fate of the civilized man and the wild Indian, a difference entirely to the disadvantage of social life. This is the injustice that prevails in the partial distribution of fortunes and stations; an inequality which is at once the effect and the cause of oppression.

IN

IN vain does custom, prejudice, ignorance, and hard labour stupify the lower class of mankind, so as to render them insensible of their degradation; neither religion nor morality can hinder them from seeing and feeling the injustice of the arrangements of policy in the distribution of good and evil. How often have we heard the poor man expostulating with Heaven, and asking what he had done, that he should deserve to be born in an indigent and dependent station? Even if great conflicts were inseparable from the more exalted stations, which might be sufficient to balance all the advantages and all the superiority that the social state claims over the state of nature, still the obscure man, who is unacquainted with those conflicts, sees nothing in a high rank, but that affluence which is the cause of his own poverty. He envies the rich man those pleasures to which he is so accustomed, that he has lost all relish for them. What domestic can have a real affection for his master, or what is the attachment of a servant? Was ever prince truly beloved by his courtiers, even when he was hated by his subjects? If we prefer our condition to that of the savages, it is because civil life has made us incapable of bearing some natural hardships which the savage is more exposed to than we are, and because we are attached to some indulgences that custom has made necessary to us. Even in the vigour of life, a civilized man may accustom himself to live among savages and return to the state of nature. We have an instance of this in that Scotchman who was cast away on the island of Fernandez,

where

where he lived alone, and was happy as soon as he was so taken up with supplying his wants, as to forget his own country, his language, his name, and even the articulation of words. After four years, he felt himself eased of the burthen of social life, when he had lost all reflection or thought of the past, and all anxiety for the future.

B O O K
XVII.

LASTLY, the consciousness of independence being one of the first instincts in man, he who enjoys this primitive right, with a moral certainty of a competent subsistence, is incomparably happier than the rich man, restrained by laws, masters, prejudices, and fashions, which incessantly remind him of the loss of his liberty. To compare the state of the savages to that of children, is to decide at once the question that has been so warmly debated by philosophers, concerning the advantages of the state of nature above those of social life. Children, notwithstanding the restraints of education, are in the happiest age of human life. Their habitual cheerfulness, when they are not under the school-master's rod, is the surest indication of the happiness they feel. After all, a single word may determine this great question. Let us ask the civilized man whether he be happy: and the savage whether he be unhappy. If they both answer in the negative, the dispute is at an end.

YE civilized nations, this parallel must certainly be mortifying to you! but you cannot too strongly feel the weight of the calamities under which you are oppressed. The more painful the sensation

B O O K
XVII.

sensation is, the more will it awaken your attention to the true causes of your sufferings. You may at last be convinced that they proceed from the confusion of your opinions, from the defects of your political constitutions, and from capricious laws, which are in continual opposition to the laws of nature.

AFTER this inquiry into the moral state of the Americans, let us return to the natural state of their country. Let us see what it was before the arrival of the English, and what it is become under their dominion.

The state
in which
the English
found North
America,
and what
they have
done there.

THE first Englishmen who went over to America to settle colonies, found immense forests. The vast trees that grew up to the clouds, were so surrounded with creeping plants, that they could not be approached. The wild beasts made these woods still more inaccessible. A few savages only were met with, clothed with the skins of those monsters. The human race, thinly scattered, fled from each other, or pursued only with intent to destroy. The earth seemed useless to man, and its powers were not exerted so much for his support, as in the breeding of animals, more obedient to the laws of nature. It produced spontaneously without assistance and without direction; it yielded all its bounties with uncontrolled profusion for the benefit of all, not for the pleasures or conveniences of one species of beings. The rivers in one place glided freely through the forests, in another, scattered their unruffled waters in a wide morass, from whence issuing in various streams they formed a multitude of islands, encompassed

compassed with their channels. Spring was renewed from the decay of autumn. The withered leaves, rotting at the foot of the trees, supplied them with fresh sap to enable them to shoot out new blossoms. The hollow trunks of trees afforded a retreat to prodigious numbers of birds. The sea, dashing against the coasts, and indenting the gulphs, threw up shoals of amphibious monsters, enormous whales, crabs, and turtles, that sported uncontrouled on the desert shores. There nature exerted her plastic power, incessantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean, and asserting the freedom of the earth and the sea.

BUT man appeared, and immediately changed the face of North America. He introduced symmetry by the assistance of all the instruments of art. The impenetrable woods were instantly cleared, and made room for commodious dwellings. The wild beasts were driven away, and flocks of domestic animals supplied their place; while thorns and briars made way for rich harvests. The waters forsook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the sea by deep canals. The coasts were covered with towns, and the bays with ships; and thus the new world, like the old, became subject to man. What powerful engines have raised that wonderful structure of European industry and policy? Let us resume the consideration of the particulars. In the remotest part stands a solitary spot, distinct from the whole, and which is called Hudson's Bay.

BOOK
XVII.

Climate of
Hudson's
Bay, and
customs of
its inhabit-
ants.
Trade car-
ried on
there.

THIS freight, of about ten degrees in depth, is formed by the ocean in the distant and northern parts of America. The breadth of the entrance is six leagues, but it is only to be attempted from the beginning of July to the end of September, and is even then rather dangerous. This danger arises from mountains of ice, some of which are said to be from 15 to 18 hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or six years duration in little gulpha constantly filled with snow, are forced out of them by north-west winds, or by some other extraordinary cause. The best way of avoiding them is to keep as near as possible to the northern coast, which must necessarily be less obstructed and most free by the natural direction of both winds and currents.

THE north-west wind, which blows almost constantly in winter, and very often in summer, frequently raises violent storms within the bay itself, which is rendered still more dangerous by the number of shoals that are found there. Happily, however, small groups of islands are met with at different distances, which are of a sufficient height to afford a shelter from the storm. Beside these small Archipelagoes, there are in many places large piles of bare rock. Except the *Alga Marina*; the bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern seas.

THROUGHOUT all the countries surrounding this bay, the sun never rises or sets without forming a great cone of light; this phænomenon is succeeded by the *Aurora Borealis*, which tinges the
hemi-

hemisphere with coloured rays of such brilliancy, that the splendour of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithstanding this, there is seldom a bright sky. In spring and autumn, the air is always filled with thick fogs, and in winter, with an infinite number of small icicles. Though the heats in the summer be rather considerable for six weeks or two months, there is seldom any thunder or lightning, owing, no doubt, to the great dispersion of the sulphureous exhalations, which, however, are sometimes set on fire by the Aurora Borealis; and this light flame consumes the barks of the trees, but leaves their trunks untouched.

ONE of the effects of the extreme cold or snow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning those animals white in winter, which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has bestowed upon them all, soft, long, and thick furs, the hair of which falls off as the weather grows milder. In most of these quadrupeds, the feet, the tail, the ears, and generally speaking all those parts in which the circulation is slower, because they are the most remote from the heart, are extremely short. Wherever they happen to be something longer, they are proportionably well covered. Under this gloomy sky, all liquors become solid by freezing, and break the vessels they are in. Even spirit of wine loses its fluidity. It is not uncommon to see fragments of large rocks loosened and detached from the great mass, by the force of the frost. All these phænomena, common enough during the whole winter, are much more terrible at the

B O O K
XVII.

new and full moon, which in these regions has an influence upon the weather, the causes of which are not known.

IN this frozen zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a substance resembling sea-coal, have been discovered. In other respects, the soil is extremely barren. Except the coasts, which are for the most part marshy, and produce a little grass and some soft wood; the rest of the country affords nothing but very high moss, and a few weak shrubs very thinly scattered.

THIS deficiency in nature extends itself to every thing. The human race are few in number, and there are scarce any persons above four feet high. Their heads bear the same enormous proportion to the rest of their bodies, as those of children do. The smallness of their feet makes them awkward and tottering in their gait. Small hands and a round mouth, which in Europe are reckoned a beauty, seem almost a deformity in these people, because we see nothing here but the effects of a weak organization, and of a cold climate, that contracts and restrains the principles of growth, and is fatal to the progress of animal as well as of vegetable life. All the men, even the youngest of them, though they have neither hair nor beard, have the appearance of being old. This is partly occasioned from the formation of their lower lip, which is thick, fleshy, and projecting beyond the upper. Such are the Esquimaux, who inhabit not only the coast of Labrador, from whence they have taken their name, but likewise all that track
of

of country which extends from the point of Belle-
isle to the most northern parts of America.

BOOK
XVII.

THE inhabitants of Hudson's Bay have, like the Greenlanders, a flat-face, with short but not flattened noses, the pupil yellow, and the iris black. Their women have marks of deformity peculiar to their sex, among others very long and flabby breasts. This defect, which is not natural, arises from their custom of giving suck to their children till they are five or six years old. As they often carry them at their backs, the children pull their mothers breasts forcibly, and almost support themselves by them.

It is not true that there are hords of the Esquimaux entirely black, as has been supposed, and then accounted for; nor that they live under ground. How should they dig into a soil, which the cold renders harder than stone? How is it possible they should live in caverns where they would be infallibly drowned by the first melting of the snows?

It is, however, certain, that they spend the winter under huts hastily built with flints joined together with cements of ice, where they live without any other fire but that of a lamp hung in the middle of the shed, for the purpose of dressing their game and the fish they feed upon. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour arising from this small flame, is sufficient to make their huts as hot as stoves.

THE Esquimaux dwell constantly in the neighbourhood of the sea, which supplies them with all their provisions. Both their constitution and com-

BOOK
XVII.

plexion partake of the quality of their aliment. The flesh of the seal is their food, and the oil of the whale is their drink, which produces in them all an olive complexion, a strong smell of fish, an oily and tenacious sweat, and sometimes a sort of scaly leprosy. This is, probably, the reason why the mothers have the same custom as the bears, of licking their young ones.

THESE people, weak and degraded by nature, are notwithstanding most intrepid upon a sea that is constantly dangerous. In boats made and sowed together like so many Borachios, but at the same time so well closed that it is impossible for the water to penetrate them, they follow the shoals of herrings through the whole of their polar emigrations, and attack the whales and seals at the peril of their lives. One stroke of the whale's tail is sufficient to drown a hundred of them, and the seal is armed with teeth to devour those he cannot drown; but the hunger of the Esquimaux is superior to the rage of these monsters. They have an inordinate desire for the whale's oil, which is necessary to preserve the heat in their stomachs, and defend them from the severity of the cold. Indeed, whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fish of the north are supplied by nature with a quantity of fat which prevents the muscles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating. Every thing in these arctic regions is either oily or gummy, and even the trees are resinous.

THE Esquimaux are, notwithstanding, subject to two fatal disorders, the scurvy and the loss of sight. The continuation of the snows on the ground,

ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of ^{BOOK} the sun on the ice, dazzle their eyes in such a ^{XVII.} manner, that they are almost constantly obliged to wear shades made of very thin wood, through which small apertures for the light are bored with fish-bones. Doomed to a six-months night, they never see the sun but obliquely, and then it seems rather to blind them than to give them light. Sight, the most delightful blessing of nature, is a fatal gift to them, and they are generally deprived of it when young.

A STILL more cruel evil, which is the scurvy, consumes them by slow degrees. It insinuates itself into their blood, changes, thickens, and impoverishes the whole mass. The fogs of the sea, which they inspire, the dense and inelastic air they breathe in their huts, which exclude all communication with the external air, the continued and tedious inactivity of their long winters, a mode of life alternately roving and sedentary; in a word, every circumstance serves to increase this dreadful illness; which in a little time becomes contagious, and spreading itself throughout their habitations, is also probably entailed upon their posterity.

NOTWITHSTANDING these inconveniencies, the Esquimaux is so passionately fond of his country, that no inhabitant of the most favoured spot under heaven quits it with more reluctance than he does his frozen deserts. One of the reasons of this may be, that he finds it difficult to breathe in a softer and more temperate climate. The sky of Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and London, though constantly

B O O K constantly obscured by thick and foetid vapours, is
XVII. too clear for an Esquimaux. Perhaps too, there
 may be something in the change of life and manners still more unfavourable to the health of savages than the climate. It is not impossible but that the delights of an European may be poison to the Esquimaux.

SUCH were the inhabitants of the country discovered in 1607 by Henry Hudson, who had employed himself in searching for a north-west passage to enter into the South Sea. This intrepid and able navigator, in 1611, was going through, for the third time, these streights, which were before unknown, when his base and treacherous crew placed him, with seven of the sailors who were animated with the same spirit, in a very slight boat, and left him, without either arms or provisions, exposed to all the dangers both of sea and land. The barbarians, who refused him the necessaries of life, could not, however, rob him of the honour of the discovery; and the bay which he first found out will ever be called by his name.

THE miseries of the civil war which followed soon after, had, however, made the English forget this distant country, which had nothing to attract them. A succession of more quiet times had not yet induced them to attend to it, when Groseillers and Radisson, two French Canadians, having met with some discontent at home, informed the English, who were engaged in repairing the mischiefs of discord by trade, of the profits arising from furs, and of their claim to the country that
 furnished

furnished them. Those who proposed this undertaking shewed so much ability, that they were intrusted with the execution of it; and the first establishment they formed succeeded so well, that it surpassed their own hopes as well as their promises.

BOOK
XVII.

THIS success alarmed the French, who were afraid, and with reason, that most of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudson's Bay. Their alarms were confirmed by the unanimous testimony of their *Coueurs de Bois*, who, since 1656, had been four times as far as the borders of the streight. It would have been an eligible thing to have gone by the same road to attack the new colony; but the distance being thought too considerable, notwithstanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined that the expedition should be made by sea. The fate of it was trusted to Groseillers and Radisson, who had been easily prevailed upon to renew their attachment to their country.

THESE two bold and turbulent men sailed from Quebec in 1682, in two vessels ill-equipped, and on their arrival, finding themselves not strong enough to attack the enemy, they were contented with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of that they designed to have taken. From this time there began a rivalryship between the two companies, one settled at Canada, the other in England, for the exclusive trade of the bay, which was constantly kept up by the disputes it occasioned, till at last, after each of their settlements had been frequently

B O O K
XVII.

frequently taken and recovered, all hostilities were terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, by which the whole was ceded to Great Britain.

HUDSON'S BAY, properly speaking, is only a mart for trade. The severity of the climate having destroyed all the corn sown there at different times, has frustrated every hope of agriculture, and consequently of population. Throughout the whole of this extensive coast, there are not more than ninety or a hundred soldiers, or factors, who live in four bad forts, of which York Fort is the principal. Their business is to receive the furs brought by the neighbouring savages in exchange for merchandise, of which they have been taught the value and use.

THOUGH these skins be much more valuable than those which are found in countries not so far north, yet they are cheaper. The savages give ten beaver skins for a gun, two for a pound of powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for a hatchet, one for six knives, two for a pound of glass beads, six for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of snuff. Combs, looking-glasses, kettles, and brandy, sell in proportion. As the beaver is the common measure of exchange, by another regulation as fraudulent as the first, two otter skins and three martins are required instead of one beaver. Beside this oppression, which is authorised, there is another which is at least tolerated, by which the savages are constantly defrauded in the quality, quantity, and measure of what is given them; and by which they lose about one third of the value.

FROM this regulated system of imposition it is ^{B O O K} easy to guess that the commerce of Hudson's Bay ^{XVII.} is a monopoly. The capital of the company that is in possession of it was originally no more than 241,500 livres *, and has been successively increased to 2,380,500 †. This capital brings them in an annual return of forty or fifty thousand skins of beavers or other animals, upon which they make so exorbitant a profit, that it excites the jealousy and clamours of the nation. Two-thirds of these beautiful furs are either consumed in kind in the three kingdoms, or made use of in the national manufactures. The rest are carried into Germany, where the nature of the climate makes them a valuable commodity.

BUT it is neither the acquisition of these savage riches, nor the still greater emoluments that might be drawn from this trade, if it were made free, which have alone fixed the attention of England as well as that of all Europe upon this frozen continent. Hudson's Bay always has been, and is still looked upon as the nearest road from Europe to the East Indies, and to the richest parts of Asia. Whether there be a passage from Hudson's Bay to the East Indies.

CABOT was the first who entertained an idea of a north-west passage to the South Seas; but his discoveries ended at Newfoundland. After him followed a multitude of English navigators, many of whom had the glory of giving their names to savage coasts which no mortal had ever visited before. These bold and memorable expeditions

* 10,062 l. 10s.

† 99,187 l. 10s.

B O O K
XVII.

were more striking than really useful. The most fortunate of them did not furnish a single idea relative to the object of pursuit. The Dutch, less frequent in their attempts, and who pursued them with less ardour, were of course not more successful, and the whole began to be treated as a chimaera, when the discovery of Hudson's Bay rekindled all the hopes that were nearly extinguished.

FROM this time the attempts were renewed with fresh ardour. Those that had been made before in vain by the mother-country, whose attention was engrossed by her own intestine commotions, were pursued by New England, whose situation was more favourable to the enterprize. Still, however, for some time there were more voyages undertaken than discoveries made. The nation was a long time kept in suspense by the contradictory accounts received from the adventurers. While some maintained the possibility, some the probability, and others asserted the certainty of the passage; the accounts they gave, instead of clearing up the point, involved it in still greater darkness. Indeed, these accounts are so full of obscurity and confusion, they are silent upon so many important circumstances, and they display such visible marks of ignorance and want of veracity, that however impatient we may be of determining the question, it is impossible to build any thing like a solid judgment upon testimonies so suspicious. At length, the famous expedition of 1746 threw some kind of light upon a point which had remained enveloped in darkness for two centuries past. But upon,

upon what grounds have the later navigators entertained better hopes? What are the experiments on which they found their conjectures?

BOOK
XVII.

LET us proceed to give an account of their arguments. There are three facts in natural history, which henceforward must be taken for granted. The first is, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or less into the other seas, in proportion as their channels communicate with the great reservoir by larger or smaller openings; from whence it follows that this periodical motion either doth not exist, or is scarce perceptible in the Mediterranean, in the Baltic, and other gulphs of the same nature. A second matter of fact is, that the tides are much later and much weaker in places more remote from the ocean, than in those which are nearer to it. The third fact is, that violent winds, which blow in a direction with the tides, make them rise above their ordinary boundaries; and that those which blow in a contrary direction retard their motion, at the same time that they diminish their swell.

FROM these principles it is most certain, that if Hudson's Bay were no more than a gulph inclosed between two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconsiderable; they would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from the source, and would be much less strong wherever they ran in a contrary direction to the wind. But it is proved by observations made with the greatest skill and precision, that the tides are very high
through-

BOOK
XVII.
throughout the whole bay. It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom of the bay than even in the streight itself, or at least in the neighbourhood of it. It is proved that even this height increases whenever the wind blows from a corner opposite to the streight; it is therefore certain, that Hudson's Bay has a communication with the ocean, beside that which has been already found out.

THOSE who have endeavoured to explain these very striking facts, by supposing a communication of Hudson's with Baffin's Bay, or with Davis's Streights, are evidently in an error. They would not scruple to reject this opinion, for which, indeed, there is no real foundation, if they only considered that the tides are much lower in Davis's Streights and in Baffin's Bay, than in Hudson's.

BUT if the tides in Hudson's Bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern sea, in which they are constantly much weaker, it follows that they must have their origin in the South Sea. And this is still further apparent from another leading fact, which is, that the highest tides ever observed upon these coasts are always occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow directly against the mouth of the streight.

HAVING thus determined, as much as the nature of the subject will permit, the existence of this passage, so long and so vainly wished for, the next point is, to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. From considering every circumstance, we are induced to think that the attempts,

tempts, which have been hitherto made without either choice or method, ought to be directed towards Welcome Bay, on the western coast. First, the bottom of the sea is to be seen there at the depth of about eleven fathom, which is an evident sign that the water comes from some ocean, as such a transparency could not exist in waters discharged from rivers, or in melted snow or rain. Secondly, the currents keep this place always free from ice, while all the rest of the bay is covered with it; and their violence cannot be accounted for but by supposing them to come from some western sea. Lastly, the whales, which towards the latter end of autumn always go in search of the warmest climates, are found in great abundance in these parts towards the end of the summer, which would seem to indicate that there is an outlet for them from thence to the South Seas, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable that the passage is very short. All the rivers that empty themselves on the western coast of Hudson's Bay are small and slow, which seems to prove that they do not come from any distance; and that consequently the lands which separate the two seas are of a small extent. This argument is strengthened by the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occasioned by the retarded progression of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain sign that the ocean from whence those tides come is very near. If the passage be short, and not very far to the north, as every thing seems

BOOK
XVII.

seems to promise, we may also presume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents observable in these latitudes, which prevents any flakes of ice from continuing there, cannot but give some weight to this conjecture.

THE discovery that still remains to be made is of so much importance and utility, that it would be folly to neglect the pursuit of it. It is consistent with the interest as well as the dignity of Great Britain, that these attempts should be pursued, either till they succeed or till the impossibility of succeeding shall be demonstrated. The resolution which they have taken in 1745, of promising a considerable reward to the navigators who should succeed in this great project, displays their wisdom even in their generosity; but is not still sufficient to attain the end that is proposed. The ministry of England must know, that the efforts of individuals will not succeed, till the trade of Hudson's Bay be entirely laid open. It ought to be made free on every account, and particularly, because the term of the grant given by Charles II. has been expired for a long time, and hath never been legally prolonged. The company in whose hands the trade is, since the year 1670, not satisfied with neglecting the object of their institution, by taking no steps towards the discovery of a north-west passage, have even exerted their utmost efforts to thwart the designs of those who, either from love of glory or from other motives, have been impelled to this undertaking. Nothing can alter that spirit of iniquity which constitutes the essence of monopoly.

PERHAPS, we should however confine ourselves chiefly to the northern seas, in order to discover this long-wished-for passage. About two centuries ago, a report was spread that there existed one somewhere else, which was sometimes described under the name of Anian. The Spaniards, who were not yet acquainted with the passage from Cape Horn to the South Seas, and who got there only by the Streights of Magellan, which were dreaded on account of the frequent shipwrecks that happened there, eagerly laid hold of this popular opinion. They fitted out five expeditions, as expensive as they were useless; and the result of which was, that Europe was undeceived with respect to this fabulous account, which the Spaniards themselves were accused of having propagated, in order to divert other nations from the design of seeking a passage towards the north.

BOOK
XVII.

Hath the
passage from
Hudson's
Bay to the
East Indies
been pro-
perly search-
ed for?

THIS state of inaction did not, it is said, last long. The court of Madrid being informed that New England was preparing, in 1636, a new expedition, to discover a passage through the Frozen Sea, likewise ordered one to be fitted out at Peru, in order to meet these navigators. Admiral Fuentes, who was intrusted with this expedition, set out from Callao, with four ships, towards the middle of the year 1640. He rapidly overcame all the obstacles which nature opposed to his operations, and arrived himself in Hudson's Bay, while his lieutenants penetrated into Davis's Streights, and into the sea of Tartary, at the extremity of Asia. After the disco-

BOOK
KVII.

very of these three passages, the small fleet very happily regained the South Sea, from whence it had set out. It hath been pretended that the council in India, had mysteriously concealed the knowledge of this event from the nations, and that they had suppressed, with the greatest care, all the accounts which might one day revive the memory of it. The Spaniards, in their turn, affirm, that the expedition of Fuentes and the discovery are both equally chimerical; and there can be no doubt but that they are entirely in the right.

It is very possible that the writings recently published upon this subject have excited a laudable curiosity. The government of Mexico, animated with the same spirit which begins to stimulate the mother-country, dispatched, on the 13th of June 1773, a frigate, destined to reconnoitre America at the highest degree of latitude possible. The persons on board this ship perceived the coast at 40, 49, and even at 55 degrees 43 minutes; precisely at the same place where Captain Tichivikow had discovered it upon his first expedition from Kamtschatka. The ship entered into the port of Saint Blas, to take in fresh provisions, and then recommenced its cruises. It can scarce be doubted, but that the desire of gaining information with respect to the North-west Passage, was the principal design of all these labours.

AFTER so many fruitless attempts, if some navigator should appear, whose strong mind rises superior to every sense of danger; who fears not

to encounter the greatest and most various hardships, and whose patience cannot be exhausted by the duration of them: if such a one should be animated with the sense of glory, the only principle which makes men regardless of life, and excites them to great undertakings: if he should be a well-informed man, so as to understand what he sees, and a man of veracity, so as to relate nothing but what he hath seen; his researches will, perhaps, be crowned with better success.

THIS extraordinary man hath appeared in the person of captain Cook: that navigator, who is so much beyond all his competitors, is gone for Otaheite. From thence he is to proceed to the north of California, there to seek for the north-west passage. He will have, for the purpose of effecting this discovery, many advantages denied to those navigators who have gone by the way of Hudson's Bay, or of the neighbouring latitudes. If this celebrated passage should still remain concealed, though it be sought for with all his resolution and skill, it must be concluded, either that it doth not exist, or that it is not given to man to discover it.

BUT how inconceivable is the vicissitude of all human affairs; how perpetual the sway of destiny, which thwarts or favours, retards or accelerates, stops or suspends our enterprises! Cook, whom nature had endowed with the genius and intrepidity necessary for extraordinary actions; whom a generous and enlightened nation had provided with all the means that can

B O O K
XVII.

insure success; whose ship, a young monarch, convinced undoubtedly that virtue attends upon the progress of knowledge, had given orders to respect, and to assist during the course of hostilities, as in time of full peace; Cook, who had sailed over an immense extent of space, and whose labours were now drawing near to an end, loses his life by the hands of a savage. The man whose remains should have been deposited by the side of kings, is buried at the foot of a tree, in an island almost unknown.

SHOULD his successor Captain Clerke, who pursues his projects, at length discover this passage, which hath been so obstinately sought for, and should it prove easy to sail through it, the connections between Europe and the East and West Indies will become more animated, more constant, and more considerable. Both the Streights of Magellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deserted, and the Cape of Good Hope much less frequented.

THESE revolutions, which may affect Hudson's Bay in so palpable a manner, will never change the destiny of Canada, conquered from France in 1760.

State of Canada since it hath been under the dominion of Great Britain.

THIS colony was divided during the space of four years into three military governments. Civil and criminal causes were tried at Quebec and at Trois Rivières, by the officers of the army; while at Montreal, these nice and important functions were intrusted to the citizens. They were both equally ignorant of the laws: and the com-

commandant of each district, to whom an appeal ^{B O O K} lay from their sentences, was not better in- ^{XVII.}formed.

A NEW system was established in the year 1764. Canada was dismembered of the coast of Labrador, which was united to Newfoundland; of lake Champlain, and of all the space to the south of the forty-fifth degree of latitude, which was added to New York; and of the immense territory to the west of fort Golette, and of the lake Nissiping, which was put under no government. The remainder, under the title of the Province of Quebec, was subject to one governor.

AT the same period the colony was put under the laws of the admiralty of England; but this innovation was hardly perceived, because it scarce interested any but the conquerors, who were in possession of all the maritime trade.

GREATER attention was paid to the establishment of the code of criminal laws adopted in England. This was one of the most valuable presents Canada could possibly receive.

BEFORE that time, a culprit, whether guilty or only suspected, was immediately seized, thrown into prison, and questioned, without being made acquainted either with his crime or with his accuser, and without being allowed the liberty of seeing either his relations or friends, or of applying to council. He was made to swear, that he would tell the truth, that is to say, accuse himself; and to complete these absurdities, his testimony was disregarded.

BOOK
XVII.

ATTEMPTS were then made to embarrass him with captious questions, which an impudent and guilty person could more readily answer, than an innocent man in confusion. One might have said, that the function of a judge was nothing more than the subtle art of finding out culprits. The prisoner was not confronted with those who deposed against him, till the instant before the judge pronounced either his release, or a delay of passing sentence for the purpose of obtaining more ample information, or the punishment of torture or death. In case of release, the innocent man obtained no indemnity; while, on the other hand, the sentence of death was always followed by confiscation: for such, in abridgment, is the mode of criminal process in France. The Canadians soon understood, and sensibly felt the value of a legislation which removed all these evils.

THE civil code of Great Britain did not give equal satisfaction. Its statutes were complicated, obscure, and numerous; they were written in a language which was not then familiar to the conquered people. Independent of these considerations, the Canadians had lived one hundred and fifty years under another kind of administration, which they were attached to by birth, by education, by custom, and perhaps also by a kind of national pride. They could not therefore but experience great uneasiness at seeing a change in the rule of their duties, and in the basis of their property. If discontent was not carried so far as

to disturb public tranquillity, it was because the inhabitants of this region had not yet lost that spirit of blind obedience which had so long directed all their actions : it is because the administrators and magistrates who had been given to them, were constantly deviating from their instructions, in order to come as near as possible to the customs and maxims which they found established.

BOOK
XVII.

THE parliament was aware that this arrangement could not be lasting. They settled, that, on the first of May 1775, Canada should recover its first limits : that it should be governed by its former jurisprudence, and by the criminal and maritime laws of England : that the free exercise of the Catholic religion should be allowed ; and that this kind of worship should never be an obstacle to any of the rights of the citizen : that ecclesiastical tithes, and the feudal obligations, which had been so fortunately disused since the time of the conquest, should recover their former influence. A council, appointed by the king, might annul these arrangements, and exercise every kind of power, except that of levying taxes. This council was to consist of twenty-three persons, promiscuously chosen from among the two nations, and subjected only to take an oath of allegiance.

THIS aristocracy, which was very variable, and entirely of a new cast, was generally disliked. The ancient subjects of Great Britain lately settled in this new possession, were exceedingly dissatisfied at having part of their rights taken

BOOK
XVII.

from them. The Canadians, who began to know the value of liberty, and who had been flattered with the hopes of being under the English government, found themselves, with grief, deceived in their expectations. It is probable that the court of London itself had not a more favourable opinion of this measure. This kind of arrangement had been suggested to the government, by the discontent which was already known to prevail in most of their provinces of the New World. It may be presumed that they will retract when circumstances and policy will admit of it.

BUT yet what became of Canada during the course of those too rapid revolutions that have happened in the government?

It's population, which the events of war had severely decreased, hath arisen to one hundred and thirty thousand souls, in the space of sixteen years. The province hath not been indebted to new colonists for this increase. There has scarce arrived a sufficient number of Englishmen, to replace one thousand or twelve hundred Frenchmen who had quitted it at the conquest. This fortunate event hath alone been produced by peace, by easy circumstances, and by a multiplication of useful labours.

THE first years of tranquillity have served to extricate the colony from that kind of chaos into which it had been plunged by a destructive and unfortunate war. These events have soon been succeeded by improvements.

STOCKINGS, lace, coarse linens, and common stuffs, had for a long time been manufactured at
Canada,

Canada. These manufactures have been extended but not improved. The two latter must remain in this state of degradation, till they are taken out of the hands of women, who are alone employed in them, as well as in others more suitable to their sex.

BOOK
XVII.

THE beaver and fur trade hath not diminished, as it was apprehended. It hath even rather increased, because the Canadians, more active than their neighbours, and better skilled in treating with the savages, have succeeded in restraining the intercourse between Hudson's Bay and New York. Besides, the value of the furs is doubled in Europe, while the price of the articles which are given in exchange is but a little enhanced.

THOUGH the seas in the neighbourhood of Canada abound in fish, the Canadians have seldom frequented them. The natural obstacles which render them averse from navigation, also disgust them of fishing. The cod fishery, however, formerly attempted at Gaspé and at Mont Louis; that of the salmon and of the seal, established upon the coast of Labrador, have made some progress, since the conquest. The whale fishery hath even been attempted, but not with sufficient success to be continued. It will undoubtedly be revived, when an increase of sailors and of knowledge, and perhaps when gratuities, properly bestowed, shall have levelled every difficulty.

THE cattle have increased, and yet there is no meat salted, except for the internal consumption,
and

BOOK
XVII.

and for the exterior navigation of the colony. Some of these salt provisions will soon be sent to the West Indies, in the same manner as horses now are; which, though small, are indefatigable.

THE culture of flax, hemp, and tobacco, hath visibly increased. That of corn hath particularly engaged the attention of the colony. In 1770, it began to furnish flour to the West Indies, and seeds to Italy, to Portugal, to Spain, and even to England; and this exportation increases continually.

IN 1769, the productions sold to foreigners amounted to 4,077,602 livres 7 sols 8 deniers *. They were carried off by about seventy vessels from Old or New England; several of which came with their ballast only. The others brought to the colony, rum, molasses, coffee, and sugar, from the West Indies; salt, oil, wine, and brandy, from Spain, Italy, and Portugal; and stuffs, linens, and household furniture from the mother-country. Canada is properly in possession of no other ships except those which are necessary for the internal consumption; a dozen of small vessels, which are employed in the seal fishery; and five or six, which are sent to the Antilles. The construction of vessels, far from having been more frequent, hath diminished since the conquest; and it is to the dearth of labour, in which more hands are employed, that this change, which it was not natural to expect, must be attributed.

* About 169,900 l. 2s. 4d.

THIS inconvenience hath not prevented the colony from becoming richer than it was under another dominion. Its debts have been entirely paid since the year 1772, and it hath no paper currency. Its species increases daily, both by the multiplication of its commodities, and by the expences of government. Besides what Great Britain hath expended for the troops, the civil administration of Canada costs the country annually 625,000 livres *, while it receives only 225,000 livres † from the duties which it hath imposed, in 1765, 1772, and 1773, on the wines, brandy, rum, molasses, glass, and colours.

THE extent of Canada, the fertility of its soil, the salubrity of its climate, should seem to invite it to a great degree of prosperity; but this is impeded by powerful obstacles. This region hath only one river for its exports and imports, and even this is blocked up by ice, so as not to be navigable during six months; while heavy fogs render the navigation of it slow and difficult throughout the rest of the year. Hence it will happen, that the other northern colonies which have the same productions as this colony, and have not similar obstacles to surmount, will always have a decided advantage over it, for the large fisheries, and for the navigation to the West Indies and to Europe. In this respect the island of St. John is more fortunately circumstanced.

WHEN the English took possession of the island of St. John, situated on the Gulph of St. Lawrence, they had the bad policy to expel from

What is become of the islands of St. John, of Magdalen, and of Cape

* 26,041l. 13s. 4d.

† 9,375l.

thence

BOOK
XVII.

Breton, since
they have
been subject
to the Bri-
tish govern-
ment?

thence more than three thousand Frenchmen, who had lately formed settlements there. No sooner had the property of the island been insured to the conqueror by treaties, than the Earl of Egmont was desirous of becoming master of it. He engaged to furnish twelve hundred armed men for the defence of the colony, provided he were permitted to cede, on the same conditions, and in mesne fee, some considerable portions of his territory. These offers were agreeable to the court of London, but by a law which was made at the memorable period of the restoration of Charles II. the granting of the domains of the crown upon the stipulation of a military service, or of a feudal homage, had been forbidden. The lawyers determined, that this statute affected the New, as well as the Old World, and this decision suggested other ideas to government.

THE long and cruel storm by which the globe had been agitated was appeased. Most of the officers who had sealed the triumphs of England with their blood, were unemployed and without subsistence. It was imagined to divide the soil of St. John among them, upon condition that after ten years of free enjoyment, they should annually pay to the treasury, as they do in most of the provinces of the continent of America, 2 livres 10 sols 7 deniers and a half * for every hundred acres they should possess. Very few of these new proprietors intended to settle in these distant regions; very few of them were able to furnish the

* About 2s. 1½d.

sums necessary for clearing a portion of land of any extent. Most of them ceded their rights, for a greater or less time, and for a rent more or less moderate, to some Irishmen, and especially to some Scotch Highlanders. The number of colonists doth not yet amount to twelve hundred; who are employed in the cod fishery, and in cultures of different kinds. They have no intercourse with Europe, but trade only with Quebec and with Halifax.

TILL 1772, St. John depended upon Nova Scotia. At this period it formed a separate state. It obtained a governor, a council, an assembly, a custom-house, and an admiralty. Port la Joie, which is now called Charlotte Town, is the capital of the colony.

AN island of so small an extent scarce appeared worthy of the importance it acquired by favours which we cannot account for. In order to give a kind of reality to this settlement, the islands of Magdalen; inhabited by a few persons employed in the cod fishery, and in catching sea-cows, were annexed to it; as was also Cape Breton; which was formerly famous, but which hath lost its importance by its change of government. Louisbourg, the terror of English America not twenty years ago, is now no more than a heap of ruins. The four thousand Frenchmen who had been dispersed after the conquest, by an unjust and ill-judged mistrust, have only been replaced by five or six hundred men, who are more engaged in smuggling than in fishing. Even the coal-mines have no longer been attended to.

THESE

BOOK
XVII.

BOOK
XVII.

THESE mines are very abundant at Cape Breton, are easily worked, and are in some measure inexhaustible. Under the former possessors a great confusion prevailed in them, which the new government have wished to prevent, by reserving the property to themselves, in order to cede it only to those who should have sufficient means to render it useful. Those who will engage in this undertaking, with the funds requisite, will find an advantageous mart in all the western islands of America, and even upon the coasts, and in the ports of the northern continent, where the dearth of wood is already experienced, and where it will be still more sensibly felt every day. This species of industry would form a trade to the colony, which would be ever increasing; and it would even extend its fisheries, but not to that degree as ever to render them equal to those of Newfoundland.

Description
of the island
of New-
foundland.

THIS island, situated between 46 and 52 degrees of north latitude, is separated from the coast of Labrador only by a channel of moderate breadth, known by the name of Belleisle Streights. It is of a triangular form, and something more than three hundred leagues in circumference. We can only speak by conjecture of the inland parts of it on account of the difficulty of penetrating far into it, and the apparent inutility of succeeding in the attempt. The little that is known of it is, that it is full of very steep rocks, mountains covered with bad wood, and some very narrow and sandy valleys. These inaccessible places are stocked with deer, which multiply with the greater ease

ease on account of the security of their situation. No savages have ever been seen there except some Esquimaux, who come over from the continent in the hunting season. The coast abounds with creeks, roads, and harbours; is sometimes covered with moss, but more commonly with small pebbles, which seem as if they had been placed there by design, for the purpose of drying the fish caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat stones reflect the sun's rays, the heat is excessive. The rest of the country is entirely cold; less so, however, from its situation, than from the heights, the forests, the winds, and above all, the vast mountains of ice which come out of the northern seas, and fix on these coasts. The sky towards the northern and western parts is constantly serene, but is much less so towards the east and south, both of these points being too near the great bank, which is enveloped in a perpetual fog.

NEWFOUNDLAND was discovered in 1497, by John Cabot, a Venetian; but this discovery was not pursued. At the return of this great navigator, England was too much taken up with its disputes with Scotland, to give any serious attention to such distant interests.

At what period, and in what manner, the English and French have settled at Newfoundland.

THIRTY years afterwards, Henry VIII. sent two ships to take a more particular survey of the island, which had as yet been only perceived. One of these ships was lost upon those savage coasts, and the other returned to England without having acquired any information.

ANOTHER

BOOK
XVII.

ANOTHER voyage, undertaken in 1536, was more successful. The adventurers, who had undertaken it with the assistance of government, informed their country, that a great quantity of cod-fish might be caught at Newfoundland. This information was not entirely useless: and soon after, some small vessels were sent from England in the spring, which returned in autumn with their whole freight of fish, both salt and dried.

At first, the territory which was requisite to prepare the cod-fish belonged to the first person who seized upon it. This custom proved a perpetual source of discord. Sir Thomas Hampshire, who was sent by Queen Elizabeth in 1582 into these latitudes with five ships, was authorised to secure to every fisherman the property of that portion of the coast which he chose.

THIS new arrangement multiplied the expeditions to Newfoundland to such a degree, that in 1615, two hundred and fifty English vessels were seen upon those coasts, the lading of which amounted in all to fifteen thousand tons. All these vessels had sailed from Europe. It was not till some years after, that fixed habitations were formed there, which gradually occupied, on the eastern coast, the space that extends from Conception Bay to Cape Ras. Those who were concerned in the fishery being forced, both from the nature of their employment and that of the soil, to live at a distance from each other, opened paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's, where,

where, in an excellent harbour, formed between ^{B O O K}
two mountains at a very small distance from each ^{XVII.}
other, they met with privateers from the mother-
country, who supplied them with every necessary
article, in exchange for the produce of their
fishery.

THE French had turned their views towards Newfoundland, before this prosperity of the English trade. They pretend even that they have frequented the coasts of this island since the beginning of the sixteenth century. This period may be too remote; but it is certain that they frequented them before the year 1634, when they obtained according to the account of their rivals, from Charles I. the liberty of fishing in these latitudes, on the condition of paying him a duty of five per cent. But this tribute, which was equally burthen some and humiliating, was soon after taken off.

HOWEVER this fact may be, the truth of which is not ascertained by any record, it is proved, that towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the French went annually to Newfoundland. They did not, it is true, fish on the western coast of the island, though, as it made part of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, it was understood to belong to them, but they frequented in great numbers the northern part, which they had called *Le Petit Nord*. Some of them had even fixed upon the southern part, where they had formed a kind of town upon the Bay of Placentia, which united all the conveniences that could be wished for to obtain a successful fishery.

BOOK
XVII.

AMONG all the settlements with which the Europeans have covered the New World, there is none of the nature of that of Newfoundland. The others have generally been the destruction of the first colonists they have received, and of a great number of their successors; this climate, of itself, hath not destroyed one single person; it hath even restored strength to some of those whose health had been affected by less wholesome climates. The other colonies have exhibited a series of injustice, oppression, and carnage, which will for ever be holden in detestation. Newfoundland alone hath not offended against humanity, nor injured the rights of any people. The other settlements have yielded productions, only by receiving an equal value in exchange. Newfoundland alone hath drawn from the depths of the waters, riches formed by nature alone, and which furnish subsistence to several countries of both hemispheres.

How much time hath elapsed before this parallel hath been made! Of what importance did fish appear, when compared to the money which men went in search of in the New World? It was long before it was understood, if even it be yet understood, that the representation of the thing is not of greater value than the thing itself; and that a ship filled with cod, and a galleon, are vessels equally laden with gold. There is even this remarkable difference, that mines can be exhausted, and that the fisheries never are. Gold is not reproduced, but the fish are so incessantly.

THE wealth of the fisheries of Newfoundland had made such a small impression upon the court of Versailles in particular, that they had not even thought of those latitudes before 1660; and that even then, they took no further notice of it, than to destroy the good which had been done there by their subjects without their sanction. They gave up the property of Placentia Bay to a private man named Gargot; but this rapacious man was driven away by the fishermen, whom he had been allowed to spoil. The ministry did not persist in supporting the injustice of which they had been guilty; and nevertheless the oppression of the colony was not diminished. The laborious men, whom necessity had united upon this barren and savage land, being now drawn out of that fortunate oblivion in which they had remained, were persecuted without intermission by the commanders who succeeded each other in a fort which had been constructed. This tyranny, by which the colonists were prevented from acquiring that degree of competency that was necessary to enable them to pursue their labours with success, must also hinder them from increasing their numbers. The French fishery, therefore, could never prosper so well as that of the English.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, Great Britain, at the treaty of Utrecht, did not forget that her enterprising neighbours, supported by the Canadians, accustomed to sudden attacks, and to the fatigues of the chase, had several times, during the two last wars, carried devastation into her settlements.

B O O K
XVII.



It is the
cod fish
alone which
renders
Newfound-
land of im-
portance.
Present state
of this
fishery, di-
vided into
wandering
and station-
ary fishery.

ments. This was sufficient to induce her to demand the entire possession of the island; and France, exhausted by her misfortunes, resolved to make this sacrifice; not, however, without reserving to themselves not only the right of fishing on one part of the island, but also on the Great Bank, which was considered as belonging to it.

THE fish for which these latitudes are so famous is the cod. The length of this fish does not exceed three feet, and is often less; but the sea does not produce any with mouths as large in proportion to their size, or who are so voracious. Broken pieces of earthen ware, iron, and glass, are often found in their bellies. The stomach, indeed, does not, as has been imagined, digest these hard substances, but by a certain power of inverting itself, like a pocket, discharges whatever loads it. This fish would have been less voracious, if its stomach had not been capable of being inverted. Its organization makes it indifferent with respect to the nature of the sustenance it feeds upon. The conformation of the organs is the principle of appetite in all the living substances in the three natural kingdoms.

THE cod fish is found in the northern seas of Europe. The fishery is carried on there by thirty English, sixty French, and 150 Dutch vessels, which, taken together, carry from 80 to 100 tons burden. Their competitors are the Irish, and above all, the Norwegians. The latter are employed, before the fishing season, in collecting upon the coast, the eggs of the cod, which is the usual

usual bait for pilchards. They sell, *communibus annis*, from twenty to twenty-two thousand tons of this fish, at nine livres * per ton. If markets could be found for it, it might be taken in greater quantity: for an able naturalist, who has had the patience to count the eggs of one single cod, has found 9,344,000 of them. This bounty of nature must be still more considerable at Newfoundland, where the cod fish is found in infinitely greater plenty.

BOOK
XVII.

THE fish of Newfoundland is also more delicate, though not so white; but it is not an object of trade when fresh, and only serves for the food of those who are employed in the fishery. When it is salted and dried, or only salted, it becomes a useful article to a great part of Europe and America. That which is only salted is called green cod, and is caught upon the great bank.

THIS bank is one of those mountains that are formed under water by the earth which the sea is continually washing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate so much in a point, that it is difficult to assign the precise extent of it, but it is generally reckoned to be 160 leagues long and 90 broad. Towards the middle of it, on the European side, is a kind of bay, which has been called the Ditch. Throughout all this space, the depth of water is very different; in some places there are only five, in others above sixty fathom. The sun scarce ever shews itself there, and the sky is generally covered with a thick cold fog. The

waves are always agitated, and the winds always high about this spot, which must be owing to this circumstance, that the sea being irregularly driven forward by currents, bearing sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, strikes with impetuosity against the borders, which are every where perpendicular, and is repelled from them with equal violence. This is most likely to be the true reason, because on the bank itself, at a little distance from the borders, the situation is as tranquil as in a harbour, except when a violent wind, which comes from a greater distance, happens to blow there.

FROM the middle of July to the latter end of August, there is no cod found either upon the Great Bank, or any of the small ones near it, but all the rest of the year the fishery is carried on.

PREVIOUS to their beginning the fishery, they build a gallery on the outside of the ship, which reaches from the main-mast to the stern, and sometimes the whole length of the vessel. This gallery is furnished with barrels, with the tops beaten out. The fishermen place themselves within these, and are sheltered from the weather by a pitched covering fastened to the barrels. As soon as they catch a cod they cut out its tongue, and give the fish to one of the boys, to carry it to a person appointed for the purpose, who immediately strikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall through a small hatchway between the decks; when another man takes it and draws out the bone as far as the navel, and then lets it sink through another hatch-

hatchway into the hold, where it is salted and ranged in piles. The person who salts it takes care to leave salt enough between each row of fish, but not more than is sufficient to prevent their touching each other, for either of these circumstances neglected would spoil the cod.

BOOK
XVII.

BUT it is a well-attested phenomenon, that the cod fishery is scarcely begun before the sea becomes oily, grows calm, and the barks are seen floating upon the surface of the waters as upon a polished mirror. The same effect is produced by the oil which runs from a whale when it is cut to pieces. A ship newly tarred appeases the sea under it and round the vessels which are near it. In 1756, Dr. Franklin, going to Louisbourg with a great fleet, observed that the way of two ships was remarkably smooth, while that of the others was agitated; upon asking the captain the reason of this, he was told that this difference was occasioned by the washing of the kitchen utensils. Dr. Franklin was not satisfied with this reason, but soon found out the truth of it by a series of experiments, by which he discovered that a few drops of oil, the whole of which united together would scarce have filled a spoon, quieted the waves at more than a hundred toises distance, with a celerity of expansion as marvellous as its division.

It appears that vegetable oil is more efficacious than animal oil. The calm which is produced by this is reckoned to last two hours out at sea, where this effect requires the effusion of a considerable quantity of oil. The sacrifice of a few

BOOK
XVII.

barrels of this fluid hath saved some great vessels from shipwreck, with which they were threatened by the most dreadful tempest.

NOTWITHSTANDING an infinite number of authentic facts, it is as yet doubtful whether oil, or in general all fat substances, whether fluid or separated, have the property of lowering the height of the waves. They appear to have no effect but against the breakers.

It is said that the sea breaks when it rises very high in foaming, and in forming as it were columns of water which fall down again with great violence. When the sea is high, the waves ascend, but follow each other regularly, and the ships give way without danger to this motion, which seems to carry them up to the skies or down to the infernal regions. But when the waves are violently agitated by winds which blow in contrary directions, or from some other cause, this is not the case. Two ships close enough to speak, are suddenly hid from each other's sight. A mountain of water rises between them, which when it comes to break and fall upon them, is sufficient to dash them to pieces. This state of the sea is not a common one. One may sail a long time without being exposed to it. But if the use of oil should preserve but one single vessel among the multitude of those which cover the ocean in a great number of years, the importance of this easy succour would still be very considerable.

THE fishermen of Lisbon and those of the Bermudas, restore calm and transparency to the

sea with a little oil, which immediately puts a stop to the irregularity of the rays of light, and enables them to perceive the fish. The modern divers, who go in search of pearls in the bottom of the sea, accustom themselves, in imitation of the ancients, to fill their mouths with oil, which they throw out drop by drop, in proportion as the darkness conceals their prey from them. Some of them guess at the presence of the shark, or at the abundance of the herring, in those places where the sea offers them a calm not to be found in the neighbouring latitudes. Some persons attribute this to the oil which makes its escape from the body of the herring; others say that it is pressed out of the herring by the teeth of the shark while he is devouring that fish. The same method is used sometimes to discover the points of rocks concealed by the agitation of the waves, sometimes to reach land with less danger. For this purpose some suspend behind their boats a parcel of intestines filled with the fat of the Fulmar or Petrel, a bird which throws up in its natural state the oil of the fish upon which it feeds. Others, instead of this, use a jar turned upside down, from which the oil drops gradually through an opening made in the cork. The terrible element, therefore, which hath separated continents from each other; which deluges whole countries; which drives animals and men before it, and which will one day incroach upon their dwellings, may be appeased in its wrath, if a feather dipped in oil be passed over its surface. Who knows what may be the consequence of this discovery,

B O O K
XVII.

covery, if we may give that name to a piece of information, the knowledge of which cannot be disputed with Aristotle or Pliny? If a feather dipped in oil can smooth the waves, what will not be the effect of long wings constantly moistened with this fluid, and mechanically adapted to our ships?

THIS idea will not fail of exciting the ridicule of our superficial-minded men; but it is not for such that I write. We treat popular opinions with too much contempt. We decide with too much haste on the possibility or impossibility of things. In our opinion of Pliny the naturalist, we have passed from one extreme to the other. Our ancestors have granted too much to Aristotle, while we perhaps have denied him more than it became men, the most informed among whom hath not sufficient knowledge either to approve or contradict his book on animals. This disdain might perhaps be excused in a Buffon, a Daubenton, or a Linnæus; but it always excites our indignation when we meet with it in him, who, departing from his own sphere, and neglecting some which offers itself to him, in order to run after that which flies from him, shall venture to decide upon the merit of these men of genius, with peremptoriness which would disgust us, if even it were supported by the most striking and least contestible claims.

ACCORDING to natural right, the fishery upon the great bank ought to have been common to all mankind; notwithstanding which the two powers that had formed colonies in North America, have made very little difficulty of appropriating

ating it to themselves. Spain, who alone could BOOK
XVII.
have any claim to it, and who, from the number of her monks, might have pleaded the necessity of asserting it, entirely gave up the matter at the last peace; since which time the English and French are the only nations that frequent these latitudes.

IN 1773, France sent there five vessels, which formed nine thousand three hundred and seventy-five tons, and the crews of which consisted of sixteen hundred and eighty-eight men. Two millions one hundred and forty-one thousand cod fish were caught, which produced one hundred and twenty-two hogsheds of oil; the entire produce was sold for 1,421,615 livres*.

THE fisheries of the rival nation were much more considerable. Few of those who were employed in it had come from Europe. Most of them came from New England, Nova Scotia, and from the island of Newfoundland itself. Their vessels were small, easily managed, rising little above the surface of the water, and not liable to be strongly affected by the winds or the agitation of the waves. These vessels were manned with sailors more inured to fatigue, more accustomed to bear cold, and more used to strict discipline. They carried with them a bait infinitely superior to that which was found upon the spot. Their fishery was therefore infinitely superior to that of the French; but as they had less opportunities of getting rid of the green cod than the latter,

* 59,233l. 19s. 2d.

BOOK
XVII.

the greater part of the fish which they caught was carried to the neighbouring coasts, where it was converted into dried cod.

THIS branch of trade is carried on in two different ways. That which is called the wandering fishery belongs to vessels which sail every year from Europe to Newfoundland, at the end of March, or in April. As they approach the island, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, driven by the northern currents towards the south, which is broken to pieces by repeated shocks, and melts sooner or later at the return of the heats. These portions of ice are frequently a league in circumference; they are as high as the loftiest mountains, and extend above sixty or eighty fathom under water. When joined to smaller pieces, they sometimes occupy a space of a hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth. Interest, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as soon as possible, that they may have their choice of the harbours most favourable to the fishery, makes them brave the rigour of the seasons and of the elements, which are all in conspiracy against human industry. The most formidable rampart erected by military art, the dreadful cannonade of a besieged town, the terrors of the most skilful and obstinate sea-fight, require less intrepidity and experience to encounter them, than these enormous floating bulwarks, which the sea opposes to these small fleets of fishermen. But the most insatiable of all passions, the thirst of gold, surmounts every obstacle, and carries the mariner across these mountains of ice.

to the spot where the ships are to take in their lading. BOOK
XVII.

THE first thing to be done after landing is to cut wood and erect or repair scaffolds. All hands are employed in this work. When it is finished, the company divide; one half of the crew stays ashore to cure the fish, and the other goes on board in small boats. The boats designed for the fishery of the captain carry four men, and those for the cod three. These last boats, of which there is the greatest number, sail before it is light, generally at the distance of three, four, or five leagues from the coast, and return in the evening to the scaffolds near the sea-side, where they deposit the produce of the day.

WHEN one man has taken off the cod's head and gutted it, he gives it to another, who slices it and puts it in salt, where it remains eight or ten days. After it has been well washed, it is laid on gravel, where it is left till it is quite dry. It is then piled up in heaps, and left for some days to drain. It is then again laid on the strand, where it continues drying, and takes the colour we see it have in Europe.

THERE are no fatigues whatever to be compared with the labours of this fishery, which hardly leaves those who work at it four hours rest in the night. Happily, the salubrity of the climate preserves the health of the people under such severe trials; and these labours would be thought nothing of, if they were better rewarded by the produce.

BOOK
XVII.

BUT there are some harbours where the strand is at so great a distance from the sea, that a great deal of time is lost in getting to it; and others, in which the bottom is of solid rock, and without Varec, so that the fish do not frequent them. There are others again, where the fish grow yellow from a mixture of fresh water with the salt; and some, in which it is scorched by the reverberation of the sun's rays reflected from the mountains.

EVEN in the most favourable harbours, the people are not always sure of a successful fishery. The fish cannot abound equally in all parts: it is sometimes found to the north, sometimes to the south, and at other times in the middle of the coast, according as it is driven by the winds, or attracted by the caplain. The fishermen, who happen to fix at a distance from the places which the fish frequent, are very unfortunate, for their expences are all thrown away, because it is impossible for them to follow the fish with all their necessary apparatus.

THE fishery ends about the beginning of September, because at that time the sun has not power enough to dry the fish; but when it has been successful, the managers give over before that time, and make the best of their way either to the Caribbee Islands, or to the Roman Catholic states in Europe, that they may not be deprived of the advantages of the first markets, which might be lost by an over-stock.

IN 1773, one hundred and four vessels, which composed fifteen thousand six hundred and twenty-

one tons, and which were manned by seven thousand two hundred and sixty-three sailors, were sent from the ports of France for this fishery. Their labours were rewarded by a hundred and ninety thousand one hundred and sixty quintals of fish, and two thousand eight hundred and twenty-five hogsheds of oil. These two articles united produced 3,816,580 livres *.

B O O K
XVII.

BUT how hath it happened that an empire, the population of which is immense, and its coasts very extensive, that a government which has such considerable demands, both for its provinces in Europe and for its colonies in the New World; how hath it happened that the most important of its fisheries hath been reduced to such a trifle? This event hath been brought on by internal and external causes.

THE cod fish was for a long time overloaded with duties on its entrance into the kingdom, and other taxes were put upon its consumption. It was hoped in 1764, that these grievances were going to cease. Unfortunately the council was divided, some of its members objected to the taking off of the duties from the salt fish, because other members had declared themselves against the exportation of the brandies made from cyder and perry. Reason at length prevailed over these objections. The treasury consented, in 1773, to sacrifice half of the duties which had till then been required of this branch of industry, and two years after they entirely gave up this considerable resource.

* 159,024l. 3s. 4d.

BOOK
XVII.

SALT is a very principal article in the cod-fishery. This production of the sea and of the sun had arisen to an excessive price in France. In 1768 and 1770, fishermen were allowed for a year only, and in 1774, for an unlimited time, to purchase their salt from foreigners. This indulgence hath since been refused to them, but it will be restored. The ministry will comprehend that its navigators will never employ, without extreme necessity, the salt of Spain and Portugal preferably to that of Poitou and Brittany, which is so much superior.

WHEN the cod arrives from the north of America, there remains between its several layers a considerable quantity of undissolved salt. The farmers of the crown made for a long time an abuse of the ascendant which they had assumed in the public resolutions, in order to have this salt prohibited as useless and even dangerous. A century hath been wasted in solicitations and in giving proofs of its utility, before the government would allow it to be employed, as it is with great advantage, in the fisheries of the dried cod.

MOST of the obstacles therefore, which a power, not sufficiently acquainted with its own interests, opposed to its own prosperity, are at length removed. Let us see what idea must be formed of those which an odious spirit of rivalry hath given rise to.

NEWFOUNDLAND had formerly two masters. By the peace of Utrecht, the property of this island was confirmed to Great Britain, and the subjects of the court of Versailles preserved only the
right

right of fishing from the Cape of Bonavista, turning towards the North as far as Point Rich. But this last line of demarkation was not found in any of the charts which had preceded the treaty. The English geographer Herman Moll was the first who noticed it in 1715, and he placed it at Cape Raye.

BOOK
XVII.

It was generally believed that it must be so, when, in 1764, the British ministry pretended, upon the faith of a letter from Prior, who had settled the business of the limits, and of a petition presented to parliament, in 1716, by the English fishermen, that it was at fifty degrees thirty minutes of latitude that Point Rich ought to be fixed. The council of Louis XIV. immediately agreed with an authority which they might have contested: but having themselves discovered in their archives, a manuscript chart, which had served in the negotiation, and which placed Point Rich in forty-nine degrees of latitude, upon the border, and to the north of the bay of the Three Islands, they demanded for these claims, the same deference as they had shewn for those which had been presented to them. This was reasonable and just; and yet the French, who ventured to frequent the contested space, experienced the disgrace and the loss of having their boats confiscated. Such was the state of things, when hostilities were again renewed between the two nations. It is to be hoped, that at the ensuing peace, the court of Versailles will obtain a redress of this first grievance.

VOL. VII.

P

THEY

BOOK
XVII.

THEY will also undoubtedly attend to another of much greater importance. By the treaties of Utrecht and of Paris, their subjects were to enjoy the space which extends between the Capes of Bonavista and St. John. Three thousand Englishmen have formed fixed settlements there at several periods, and have thus necessarily kept off the navigators who arrived annually from Europe. France hath remonstrated against these usurpations, and hath obtained, that the British ministry should order their fishermen to carry their activity elsewhere. This order hath not been carried into execution; nor could it be. Therefore, the court of Versailles have demanded as an equivalent, the liberty of fishing from Point Rich to the islands of St. Peter and Miquelon. This conciliatory plan appeared likely to succeed; but the disturbances that have happened, have thrown every thing into confusion; so that this is also an arrangement to be expected at the approaching peace.

THAT peace will likewise insure to the French navigators, the exclusive fishery of that part of Newfoundland which they are allowed to frequent. This right had not been contested before the year 1763; the English had till then contented themselves with going there in the winter in order to fish for seal; they had always finished their business, and quitted the district, before the spring. At the above period they began to frequent the same harbours which were formerly occupied by their competitors alone. The court

of Versailles must have been reduced to the humiliation of giving up the coasts of Labrador, Gaspé, St. John, and Cape Breton, which abounded in fish, before a nation, too proud of its triumphs, could have ventured to form this new pretension. Its admirals carried even the insolence of victory so far, as to forbid the French fishermen to fish for cod on a Sunday, upon a pretence that the English fishermen abstained from catching any on that day. We are authorised to believe, that the council of St. James's did not approve of these enterprises, so palpably contrary to the spirit of the treaties. They were sensible that the right which France had reserved to herself in ceding the property of Newfoundland became elusive, if her fishermen could find the places abounding in fish occupied by rivals, who being settled upon the neighbouring coast, were always sure to arrive there first. Nevertheless they determined to support, that the enjoyment, in the strictest sense, ought to be common to the two people. They ought to have had more power and more courage than they were possessed of, to bid defiance to the clamours of opposition, and to the complaints which such a system of equity must necessarily excite. But they depended upon the weakness of Louis XV. and were not deceived. The circumstances of the times, and the character of his successor, are totally different; this grievance will be redressed, as well as many others. It is not even impossible, but that the stationary fisheries of this crown may receive some augmentation.

BOOK
XVII.

By stationary fishery, we are to understand, that which is carried on by the Europeans who have settlements on those coasts of America where the cod is most plentiful. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fishery, because it is attended with much less expence, and may be continued much longer. These advantages the French enjoyed, before the errors committed by their government made them lose the vast territories they had in those regions. All the fixed establishments left them by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the island of St. Peter, and to two islands of Miquelon, which they are not even allowed to fortify.

It is simple, and natural, that a conqueror should appropriate his conquests to himself as much as he can, and that he should weaken his enemy, while he aggrandises himself: but he should never leave subsisting permanent subjects of humiliation, which are of no avail to him, and which instil hatred into the hearts of those over whom he hath triumphed. The regret we feel on any loss diminishes and goes off with time. The sense of shame becomes daily more poignant, and never ceases. If an opportunity should offer of manifesting itself, it then breaks out, with a degree of fury so much the greater, as it hath been the longer concealed. Powers of the earth, therefore, be modest with respect to the terms which you impose upon the conquered people, in the monuments by which you mean to perpetuate the memory of your success. It is impossible to subscribe with sincerity to an humiliating compact.

There are already too many false pretences and unjust motives for the infringement of treaties, without adding to them one so legitimate and so urgent as that of shaking off ignominy. Exact only in prosperity, such sacrifices as you would submit to without shame in adversity. A public monument of insult, and upon which an enemy who is crossing your capital cannot turn his eyes, without experiencing a deep emotion of indignation, is a perpetual stimulus to revenge. If it were ever possible, that one of the insulted nations, in that public square called *La Place des Victoires*, where they are all basely loaded with chains, by the most abject and most impudent of all flatteries, should enter victorious into Paris, there is no doubt but that the statue of the proud monarch who approved of this indiscreet homage, would in an instant be pulled to pieces; perhaps even a spirit of resentment, for a long time stifled, would reduce to ashes the proud city that exhibits such a monument. You may appear crowned with victory, but you should not suffer that your foot should be put upon the head of your enemy. If you have been successful, consider that you may experience a reverse of fortune; and that there is more disgrace in being one's self obliged to destroy a monument, than glory in having erected it. The English would, perhaps, have withdrawn their inspector from one of the ports of France, had they known with what impatience he was suffered there; and how often the French have said to themselves: are we to submit to this humiliation much longer?

BOOK
XVII.

ST. PETER hath twenty-five leagues in circumference; it hath a harbour where thirty small vessels find a safe asylum; a road which is capable of containing about forty ships of all sizes; and coasts well adapted for the drying of a quantity of cod. In 1773, it contained six hundred and four fixed inhabitants, and nearly an equal number of sailors passed their time there in the intervals of the fisheries,

THE two Miquelons, less important in every respect, had not more than six hundred and forty-nine inhabitants; and only one hundred and twenty-seven foreign fishermen remained there during the winter.

THE labours of these islanders, joined to those of four hundred and fifty men, arrived from Europe upon thirty-five vessels, produced only thirty-six thousand six hundred and seventy quintals of cod fish, and two hundred and fifty-three hogshheads of oil, which were sold for 805,490 livres *.

THIS profit, added to 1,421,615 livres †, which were got by the green cod caught on the great Bank, and to 3,816,580 livres ‡ produced by the cod dried at Newfoundland itself, made the French fishery amount, in 1773, to the sum of 6,033,685 livres §.

OF these three products, there were only that of St. Peter, and of Miquelon, which received any increase in the following years.

* 33,562 l. 18. 8 d.

† 59,233 l. 19s. 2d.

‡ 159,024 l. 3s. 4d.

§ 251,403 l. 10s. 10d.

THESE

THESE islands are only three leagues distant from the southern part of Newfoundland. By the treaties, the possession of the coast is included in this extent. This space should therefore have been in common, or divided between the English and French fishermen, who had an equal right to it; but force, which seldom attends to the suggestions of equity, took every thing to itself. Reason, or policy, at length gave rise to more moderate sentiments; and, in 1776, an equal distribution of the canal was agreed to. This alteration enabled St. Peter and the Miquelons to catch, the ensuing year, seventy thousand one hundred and four quintals of dried cod, and seventy-six thousand seven hundred and ninety-four of green cod.

BUT this increase did not enable France to supply the foreign markets, as it did twenty years before. Its fishery was scarce sufficient for the consumption of the kingdom. Nothing, or scarce any thing, remained for its colonies, the wants of which were so extensive.

THIS important branch of commerce had passed entirely into the hands of its rivals, since victory had given to them the North of America. They supplied the South of Europe, the West Indies, and even the French islands, with cod, notwithstanding the tax of four livres * per quintal, with which it had been loaded in order to prevent its entry; and notwithstanding a gratuity of thirty-five sols † per hundred weight, granted

* 3s. 4d.

† 1s. 5½d.

BOOK
XVII.

to the national fishery. -Great Britain beheld, with great satisfaction, that besides the consumptions in its several settlements, this branch of industry yielded annually to its subjects of the Old and of the New world, a considerable quantity of specie, and a great plenty of commodities. This object of exportation would have become still more considerable, if at the time of the conquest the court of London had not had the inhumanity to expel from the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, the Frenchmen who were settled there, who have never yet been replaced, and possibly never will be. The same bad policy had formerly been followed in Nova Scotia, for it is the property of the jealousy of ambition, to destroy in order to possess.

Sketch of
Nova Scotia.
The French
settle there.
The conduct
in this
settlement.

NOVA SCOTIA, by which at present is understood, all the coasts of three hundred leagues in length, included between the limits of New England and the south coast of the river St. Lawrence, seemed at first to have comprehended only the great triangular peninsula situated about the middle of this vast space. This peninsula, which the French called Acadia, is extremely well situated to serve as an asylum to the ships coming from the Caribbee Islands. It displays to them at a distance, a great number of excellent ports, where ships may enter and go out with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon this coast, and still more upon small banks at the distance of a few leagues. The neighbouring continent attracts attention by a few furs. Its arid coasts afford gravel for drying
the

the fish upon, and the goodness of the inland grounds invites to every species of culture. Its woods are fit for many purposes. Though this climate be in the temperate zone, the winters are long and severe, and followed by sudden and excessive heats, to which generally succeed very thick fogs, that last a long time. These circumstances make this rather a disagreeable country, though it cannot be reckoned an unwholesome one.

It was in 1604 that the French settled in Acadia, four years before they had built the smallest hut in Canada. Instead of fixing towards the east of the peninsula, where they would have had larger seas, an easy navigation, and plenty of cod, they chose a small bay, afterwards called French Bay, which had none of these advantages. It has been said, that they were invited by the beauty of Port Royal, where a thousand ships may ride in safety from every wind, where there is an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathom of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is more probable that the founders of this colony were led to chuse this situation, from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the exclusive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumstance: that both the first monopolizers, and those who succeeded them, took the utmost pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom an unsettled disposition, or necessity, brought into these regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, fishing,

BOOK
XVII.

fishing, and every kind of culture; chusing rather to engage the industry of these adventurers in hunting or in trading with the savages.

THE mischiefs arising from a false system of administration, at length discovered the fatal effects of exclusive charters. It would be inconsistent with truth and the dignity of history to say, that this happened in France, from any attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when those rights were most openly violated. These sacred rights, which only can insure the safety of the people, while they give a sanction to the power of kings, were never known in France. But in the most absolute governments, a spirit of ambition sometimes effects, what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of justice. The ministers of Louis XIV. who wished, by making their master respectable, to reflect some honour on themselves, perceived that they should not succeed without the support of riches; and that a people to whom nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce. Both these resources had been hitherto precluded in the colonies by the universal restraints that are always imposed, when the government interferes improperly in every minute concern. These impediments were, at last removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able, to make use of this liberty.

THIS colony was yet in its infancy, when the settlement, which has since become so famous under the name of New England, was first established in its neighbourhood. The rapid success
of

of the plantations in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of prosperity did not excite any jealousy between the two nations. But when they began to suspect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to secure to themselves the sole property of it, and were unfortunate enough to succeed.

BOOK
XVII.

At their first arrival in Acadia, they had found the peninsula, as well as the forests of the neighbouring continent, peopled with small savage nations, who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other savage nations, they were more sociable in their manners. The missionaries easily insinuating themselves among them, had so far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthusiasts of them. At the same time that they taught them their religion, they inspired them with that hatred which they themselves entertained for the English name. This fundamental article of their new worship, being that which made the strongest impression on their senses, and the only one that favoured their passion for war, they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refused to make any kind of exchange with the English, but also frequently disturbed and ravaged the frontiers of that nation. Their attacks became more frequent, more obstinate, and more regular, after they had chosen St. Castains, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander, who was settled among them,
had

BOOK had married one of their women, and conformed
XVII. in every respect to their mode of life.

WHEN the English saw, that all efforts, either to reconcile the savages, or to destroy them in their forests, were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which they looked upon, with reason, as the only cause of all these calamities. Whenever the least hostility took place between the two mother-countries, the peninsula was attacked. Unable to procure any assistance from Canada, on account of its distance, and having but a feeble defence in Port Royal, which was only surrounded by a few pallisades, it was constantly taken. It undoubtedly afforded some satisfaction to the New-Englanders to ravage this colony, and to retard its progress; but still this was not sufficient to remove the suspicions excited by a nation always more formidable by what she is able to do, than by what she really does. Obligated as they were, however unwillingly, to restore their conquest at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great Britain should acquire such a superiority as would enable her to dispense with this restitution. The events of the war on account of the Spanish succession brought on the decisive moment; and the court of Versailles was for ever deprived of a possession of which it had never known the importance.

France is
 compelled
 to cede No-
 va Scotia to
 England.

THE ardour which the English had shewn for the possession of this territory did not manifest itself afterwards in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very slight forti-

fortification at Port Royal, which they called Annapolis, in honour of Queen Anne, they contented themselves with putting a very small garrison in it. The indifference shewn by the government was adopted by the nation, a circumstance not usual in a free country. Not more than five or six English families went over to Acadia, which still remained inhabited by the first colonists, who were only persuaded to stay upon a promise made them of never being compelled to bear arms against their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cherished by the government, respected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a series of prosperities which had rendered their name illustrious, and aggrandized their power, they possessed that patriotic spirit which is the effect of success. They esteemed it an honour to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians therefore, who, in submitting to a new yoke, had sworn never to bear arms against their former standards, were called the French neutrals.

WHAT a powerful inducement is this example of attachment, as well as a multitude of others which have preceded and followed it, to the sovereign of France, to exert himself incessantly for the happiness of such a nation; of a nation so mild, so proud, and so generous? Treason hath been sometimes the crime of an individual, or of a particular society, but it was never that of the subjects in general. The French are the people
who

BOOK
XVII.

who know how to suffer with infinite patience the longest and most cruel vexations, and who demonstrate the most sincere, the most striking transports of gratitude, at the least token of the clemency of their sovereign. They love and cherish him; and it depends upon him only to be adored by them. The sovereign whom they should despise would be the most contemptible of men; he whom they should hate would be the worst of sovereigns. Notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made, during a series of ages, to stifle in our hearts the sentiment of patriotism, it exists not, perhaps, among any people in a more lively and energetic manner. Witness our mirth at those glorious events, which, however, will not relieve our misery. What should we not be, if public felicity were to succeed to the glory of our arms?

THERE were twelve or thirteen hundred Acadians settled in the capital; the rest were dispersed in the neighbouring country. No magistrate was ever appointed to rule over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them; and they were equally strangers to him.

Manners of
the French
who re-
main'd sub-
ject to the
English go-
vernment in
Nova Scotia.

HUNTING, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might still have supplied it with subsistence, had no further attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been begun in the marshes and the low lands, by repelling the sea, and rivers, which

which covered these plains, with dikes. These grounds yielded fifty times as much as before, and afterwards fifteen or twenty times as much at least. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them, but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common.

BOOK
XVII.

At the same time the immense meadows were covered with numerous flocks. Sixty thousand head of horned cattle were computed there; and most of the families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen.

THE habitations, built entirely with wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial farmer's house in Europe. The people bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, which was in general wholesome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cyder, to which they sometimes added rum.

THEIR usual clothing was in general the produce of their own flax and hemp, or the fleeces of their own sheep. With these they made common linens and coarse cloths. If any of them had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louisbourg, and gave in exchange, corn, cattle, or furs.

THE neutral French had no other articles to dispose of among their neighbours, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves, because each separate family was able, and had been used to provide for its wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper currency, which was so com-
mon

BOOK
XVII.

mon throughout the rest of North America. Even the small quantity of specie, which had stolen into the colony, did not promote that circulation, which is the greatest advantage that can be derived from it.

THEIR manners were of course extremely simple. There never was a cause, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose from time to time among them, were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which, and their religious services, the inhabitants voluntarily gave them a twenty-seventh part of their harvests.

THESE were plentiful enough to supply more than a sufficiency to fulfil every act of liberality. Real misery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt; and good was universally dispensed, without ostentation on the part of the giver, and without humiliating the person who received. These people were, in a word, a society of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those connections of gallantry which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the two sexes. This evil was prevented

vented by early marriages; for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied him with all the necessaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and prospered like the others. They all together amounted to eighteen thousand souls.

Who will not be affected with the innocent manners, and the tranquillity of this fortunate colony? Who will not wish for the duration of its happiness? Who will not construct, in imagination, an impenetrable wall, that may separate these colonists from their unjust and turbulent neighbours? The calamities of the people have no period; but, on the contrary, the end of their felicity is always at hand. A long series of favourable events is necessary to raise them from misery, while one instant is sufficient to plunge them into it. May the Acadians be excepted from this general curse. But, alas! it is to be feared that they will not.

GREAT BRITAIN perceived, in 1749, of what consequence the possession of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace, which necessarily left a great number of men without employment, furnished an opportunity, by the disbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vast and fertile territory. The British ministry offered particular advantages to all persons who chose to go over and settle in Acadia. Every soldier, sailor,

BOOK
XVII.

and workman, was to have fifty acres of land for himself, and ten for every person he carried over in his family. All non-commissioned officers were allowed eighty for themselves, and 15 for their wives and children; ensigns 200; lieutenants 300; captains 400; and all officers of a higher rank 600; together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax free for the first ten years, and never to pay above one livre two sols six deniers * for fifty acres. Beside this, the government engaged to advance or reimburse the expences of passage, to build houses, to furnish all the necessary instruments for fishery or agriculture, and to defray the expences of subsistence for the first year. These encouragements determined three thousand seven hundred and fifty persons, in the month of May 1749, to go to America, rather than run the risque of starving in Europe.

It was intended that these new inhabitants should form a settlement to the south-east of Acadia, in a place which the savages formerly called Chebucto, and the English, Halifax. This situation was preferred to several others where the soil was better, for the sake of establishing in its neighbourhood an excellent cod fishery, and fortifying one of the finest harbours in America. But as it was the part of the country most favourable for the chase, the English were obliged to dispute it with the Micmac Indians, by whom it was most frequented. These savages

* About one shilling.

defended with obstinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not without very great losses that the English drove them from their possessions. BOOK
XVII.

THIS war was not entirely finished, when some disturbances began to break out among the neutral French. These people, whose manners were so simple, and who enjoyed such liberty, had already perceived that their independence must necessarily suffer some incroachments from any power that should turn its views to the countries they inhabited. To this apprehension was added that of seeing their religion in danger. Their priests, either heated by their own enthusiasm, or secretly instigated by the governors of Canada, made them believe all they chose to say against the English, whom they called heretics. This word, which has so powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where lands were offered them. This resolution many of them executed immediately, without considering the consequences of it; the rest were preparing to follow as soon as they had provided for their safety. The English government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always base and cruel in those whose power gives them an opportunity of pursuing milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming English subjects, they called together all the remaining inhabitants, and put them on board of ship. They

B O O K
XVII.

were conveyed to the other English colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

SUCH are the effects of national jealousies, and of the rapaciousness of government, to which men, as well as their property, become a prey. What our enemies lose is reckoned an advantage, what they gain is looked upon as a loss. When a town cannot be taken, it is starved; when it cannot be kept, it is burnt to ashes, or its foundations rased. A ship or a fortified town is blown up; rather than the sailors or the garrison will surrender. A despotic government separates its enemies from its slaves by immense deserts, to prevent the irruptions of the one and the emigrations of the other. Thus it is that Spain has rather chosen to make a wilderness of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide its riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the spice trade. They have frequently thrown whole cargoes into the sea rather than they would sell them at a low price. France rather chose to give up Louisiana to the Spaniards, than to let it fall into the hands of the English; and England destroyed the neutral French inhabitants of Acadia, to prevent their returning to France. Can it be said after this, that policy and society were instituted for the happiness of mankind? Yes, they were instituted to screen the wicked and to secure the powerful.

SINCE

SINCE the emigration of a people who owed their happiness to their virtuous obscurity, Nova Scotia remained in a languid state. Envy, which had depopulated this country, seemed to have shed its baneful influence over it. The punishment of injustice fell at least upon the authors of it. At last a few unfortunate people were driven there by the various calamities they experienced in Europe. They amounted in 1769 to twenty-six thousand; most of them were dispersed, and were only collected in any number at Halifax, Annapolis, and Lunenburg. This last colony, formed by Germans, was the most flourishing. It owed its improvements to that fondness for labour, to that well-regulated œconomy, which are the distinguishing characteristics of a wise and warlike nation, who, contenting themselves with defending their own country, seldom leave it, except to go and cultivate districts which they are not ambitious of conquering.

BOOK
XVII.

Present state
of Nova
Scotia.

IN the year 1769, the colony sent out fourteen vessels and one hundred and forty-eight boats, which together amounted to seven thousand three hundred and twenty-four tons, and received twenty-two vessels and one hundred and twenty boats, which together made up seven thousand and six tons. They constructed three sloops, which did not exceed one hundred and ten tons burthen.

THEIR exportation for Great Britain and for the other parts of the globe, did not amount to more than 729,850 livres 12 sols 9 deniers*.

* About 30,410l. 8s. 10d.

BOOK
XVII.

NOTWITHSTANDING these encouragements, which the mother-country had incessantly bestowed upon this colony, in order to accelerate its cultures; it had itself borrowed 450,000 livres *, for which it paid an interest of six per cent. It had not then any paper currency, and hath not used any since.

THE troubles which at present agitate North America, have not extended to Nova Scotia. It hath even drawn some advantages from them. Its population hath arisen to forty thousand souls, by the arrival of some cautious or pusillanimous citizens who fled from the horrors of war. The necessity of supplying the wants of the British armies and fleets hath occasioned a great increase of provisions. An immense quantity of specie circulated by the troops, hath given life to every thing, and communicated a rapid motion to men and things.

SHOULD the other colonies at length detach themselves from the mother-country, and should it retain Nova Scotia, this province, which was very insignificant, will become very important. It is supplied with every advantage that may insure its prosperity. Its pastures are proper for the breeding of cattle, and its lands for the cultivation of corn, and especially for the growing of flax and hemp. There are few coasts known to be so favourable for large fisheries, and its boats can with ease perform seven voyages to the great bank of Newfoundland, while those of New

England can only perform five, and with a great deal of difficulty. The English islands will furnish it with a certain, easy, and almost exclusive mart for its merchandise. BOOK
XVII.

THERE can be no fear of any invasion, because Halifax, which was formerly defended only by a few batteries properly or improperly placed, is at present surrounded by good fortifications which may still be increased.

NEW-ENGLAND, like the mother-country, has signalized itself by many acts of violence; and has been actuated by the same turbulent spirit. It took its rise in troublesome times, and its infant state was disturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was discovered in the beginning of the last century, and called North-Virginia; but no Europeans settled there till the year 1608. The first colony, which was weak and ill-directed, did not succeed, and for some time after, there were only a few adventurers who came over at times in the summer, built themselves temporary huts for the sake of trading with the savages, and, like them, disappeared again for the rest of the year. Fanaticism, which had depopulated America to the south, was destined to repeople it in the north. Some English Presbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that universal asylum of liberty, resolved to found a church for their sect in the new hemisphere. They therefore purchased, in 1621, the charter of the English North-Virginia company: for they were not reduced to such a state of poverty,

Foundation
of New-
England.

erty, as to be obliged to wait till prosperity became the reward of their virtues.

ON the 6th of September 1621, they embarked at Plymouth, to the number of 120 persons, under the guidance of enthusiasm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter, and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy prospect to men already exhausted with the fatigues of their voyage. Near one half perished either by cold, the scurvy, or distress; the rest were kept alive, by that strength of character which they had acquired under the persecution of episcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to droop, when it was revived by the arrival of sixty savage warriors, who came to them in the spring, headed by their chief. Freedom seemed to exult that she had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two such different colonies; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendship and protection. The old inhabitants assigned for ever to the new ones all the lands in the neighbourhood of the settlement they had formed under the name of New-Plymouth; and one of the savages, who understood a little English, stayed to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and instruct them in the manner of fishing upon their coast.

THIS humanity enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with seeds, with domestic animals, and with every assistance they wanted. At first the settlement advanced

vanced but slowly, since, in 1629, it contained no more than three hundred persons: but the persecution of the Puritans, which increased daily in England, hastened the augmentation of their number in America. Such multitudes of them arrived the following year, that it became necessary to disperse them. The colonies which they established formed the province of Massachusetts Bay. The colonies of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and of Rhode Island, soon sprang up from this settlement, and these were so many separate states, each of which obtained from the court of London a distinct charter.

B O O K
XVII.

THE blood of martyrs hath ever been, in all places, and at all times, a source of profelytism. A few ecclesiastics only, deprived of their benefices on account of their opinions, had at first passed into America, and a few obscure sectaries, whose new tenets attracted numbers from among the people. The emigrations became gradually more common amongst other classes of citizens, and in process of time men of the first rank, who had been drawn into Puritanism by ambition, humour, or conscience, thought of securing to themselves an asylum in those distant climates. They had caused houses to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cause of civil and religious liberty should prove abortive. The same fanatical spirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother-country, kept the colony in a state of subordination, or rather a severity of manners, had the same effect as laws in a savage country.

THE

BOOK
XVII.

Form of
government
established
at New-
England.

THE inhabitants of New-England lived peaceably for some time without thinking of settling their felicity upon a firm basis. Not that their charter had not authorised them to establish any mode of government they might chuse, but those enthusiasts did not think of it; and government did not pay a sufficient attention to them to urge them to secure their own tranquillity. At length they grow sensible of the necessity of giving some consistency to their colony. At this period it was agreed, that there should be an assembly holden every year, the deputies of which should be chosen by the people, in which none but those who were members of the established church could have a seat, and over which a chief was to preside, without any distinct authority. Two remarkable regulations were at the same time made: the first stated the price of corn, and by the second the savages were deprived of all the lands which they should not cultivate; and all Europeans were prohibited, under a heavy penalty, to sell them any strong liquors or warlike stores.

THE national council were charged with the regulation of public affairs. They were also obliged to determine upon all suits, but by the lights of reason alone, and without the assistance or embarrassments of any code.

NEITHER were any criminal laws instituted; but those of the Jews were adopted. Witchcraft, blasphemy, adultery, and false testimony, were punished with death. Children, who were so unnatural as to strike or to curse the authors of their being, drew upon themselves the same punishment.

ishment. All persons who were detected either in lying, drunkenness, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped; and amusements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes. Swearing, and the violation of the sabbath, were expiated by a heavy fine. Another indulgence allowed, was, to atone by a fine for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a rash oath.

It is also known, that government forbid, on pain of death, the Puritans to worship images; and that the same punishment was decreed against Roman Catholic priests, who should return into the colony after having been banished.

THE unfortunate members of the colony, who, less violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magistrate in matters of religion, were the objects of persecution. This was considered as blasphemy by those very divines who had rather chosen to quit their country than to shew any deference to episcopal authority. By that natural propensity of the human heart, which leads men from the love of independence to that of tyranny, they had changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only seemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themselves, in order to deny it to others. This system of intoleration was supported by the services of the law, which attempted to put a stop to every difference in opinion, by inflicting capital punishment on all who dissented. Those who were either convicted, or even suspected, of entertaining sentiments of toleration, were exposed to such cruel oppressions, that they were forced to fly from their first asylum,

B O O K
XVII.
Fanaticism
occasions
great calamities in
New-England.

B O O K
XVII.

asylum, and seek refuge in another less exposed to disturbances.

THIS intemperate religious zeal extended itself to matters in themselves of the greatest indifference. A proof of this is found in the following public declaration, transcribed from the registers of the colony :

“ IT is a circumstance universally acknowledged, that the custom of wearing long hair, after the manner of immoral persons and of the savage Indians, can only have been introduced into England, but in sacrilegious contempt of the express command of God, who declares, that it is a shameful practice for any man who has the least care for his soul to wear long hair. As this abomination excites the indignation of all pious persons; we, the magistrates, in our zeal for the purity of the faith, do expressly and authentically declare, that we condemn the impious custom of letting the hair grow; a custom which we look upon to be very indecent and dishonest, which horribly disguises men, and is offensive to modest and sober persons, in as much as it corrupts good manners. We, therefore, being justly incensed against this scandalous custom, do desire, advise, and earnestly request all the elders of our continent, zealously to shew their aversion from this odious practice, to exert all their power to put a stop to it, and especially to take care that the members of their churches be not infected with it; in order that those persons, who, notwithstanding these rigorous prohibitions, and the

“ means

" means of correction, that shall be used on this
 " account, shall still persist in this custom, may
 " have both God and man at the same time
 " against them."

B O O K
 .XVII.

THIS severity, which a man exercises against himself, or against his fellow-creatures, and which makes him first the victim, then the oppressor, soon exerted itself against the Quakers. They were whipped, banished, and imprisoned. The proud simplicity of these new enthusiasts, who in the midst of tortures and ignominy praised God, and called for blessings upon men, inspired a reverence for their persons and opinions, and gained them a number of proselytes. This circumstance exasperated their prosecutors, and hurried them on to the most atrocious acts of violence. They caused five of them, who had returned clandestinely from banishment, to be hanged. It seemed as if the English had come to America to exercise upon their own countrymen the same cruelties the Spaniards had used against the Indians; whether it was that the change of climate had rendered the Europeans more ferocious; or that the fury of religious zeal can only be extinguished in the destruction of its apostles and its martyrs. This spirit of persecution was, however, at last suppressed by the interposition of the mother-country, from whence it had been brought.

A PEOPLE, whose character was naturally disposed to melancholy, were become gloomy and stern. The blood of their monarch was still before them. Some of them lamented in secret this great assassination, others would willingly have

BOOK

XVII.

~~CHAPTER~~

have celebrated it as a festival. The nation was divided between two violent parties. On one hand revenge was meditated; on the other, it was endeavoured to prevent it by informations, which were always followed by exile, imprisonment, or capital punishment. Reciprocal mistrust prevailed between fathers and children, and between friends. The suspicious tyrant was surrounded by suspicious courtiers, who kept up his apprehensions either to raise themselves to the high posts of the state, or to expel their enemies or their rivals from them. The axe was suspended over every head. The frequency of rebellions occasioned a frequency of executions, and these repeated executions of illustrious as well as of obscure citizens, perpetually maintained the popular terror. At length Cromwell disappeared. Enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which composed his character; factions, rebellions, and proscriptions, were all buried with him; and England began to have the prospect of calmer days. Charles the Second, at his restoration, introduced among his subjects a social turn, a taste for convivial pleasures and diversions, and for all those amusements he had been engaged in while he was travelling from one court to another in Europe, to endeavour to regain the crown which his father had lost upon a scaffold. The propagators of his principles were a multitude of women of gallantry, of corrupt favourites, and licentious men of wit. In a short time he brought on a general change of manners; and nothing but such a revolution could possibly have secured the tranquillity

lity of his government upon a throne stained with blood. He was one of those voluptuaries, whom the love of sensual pleasures sometimes excites to sentiments of compassion and humanity. Moved with the sufferings of the Quakers, he put a stop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguish the spirit of persecution that prevailed in America.

BOOK
XVII.

THE colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the son of that Sir Henry Vane, who had such a remarkable share in the disturbances of his country. This obstinate and enthusiastic young man, in every thing resembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himself, or to suffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obscure and obsolete questions of grace and free will. The disputes upon these points ran very high, and would probably have plunged the colony into a civil war, if several of the savage nations united, had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the disputants, and to massacre great numbers of them. The colonists, heated with their theological contests, paid at first very little attention to this considerable loss. But the danger at length became so urgent and so general, that all took up arms. As soon as the enemy was repulsed, the colony resumed its former dissensions; and this phrenzy manifested itself in 1692, by such atrocious acts of violence, as were scarce ever recorded in history.

THERE lived in a town of New-England, called Salem, two young women, who were subject to convulsions, accompanied with extraordinary symptoms.

BOOK
XVII.

symptoms. Their father, minister of the church, thought that they were bewitched; and having in consequence cast his suspicions upon an Indian girl, who lived in his house, he compelled her by harsh treatment to confess that she was a witch. Other women, upon hearing this, seduced by the pleasure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulsions which proceeded only from the nature of their sex, were given to the same cause. Three citizens, casually named, were immediately thrown into prison, accused of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left exposed to wild beasts and birds of prey. A few days after, sixteen other persons, together with a counsellor, who, because he refused to plead against them, was supposed to share in their guilt, suffered in the same manner. From this instant, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with these horrid and gloomy scenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modesty, fortune, honour, virtue, and the most dignified employments of the state, were no security against the suspicions of a people infatuated with visionary superstition. Children of ten years of age were put to death, young girls were stripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft searched for upon their bodies with the most indecent curiosity; those spots of the scurvy which age impresses upon the bodies of old men, were taken for evident signs of the infernal power. Fanaticism, wickedness, and vengeance united, selected their victims at pleasure. In default of witnesses, torments were employed to extort confessions

fessions dictated by the executioners themselves. B O O K
XVII.
 If the magistrates, tired with executions, refused to punish, they were themselves accused of the crimes they tolerated; the very ministers of religion raised false witnesses against them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorse excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror, and consternation of every kind, increased these prodigies of folly and horror. The prisons were filled, the gibbets left standing, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehensions. The most prudent quitted a country stained with the blood of its inhabitants; and those that remained wished only for peace in the grave. In a word, nothing less than the total and immediate subversion of the colony was expected, when on a sudden, in the height of the storm, the waves subsided, and a calm ensued. All eyes were opened at once, and the excess of the evil awakened the minds which it had at first stupified. Bitter and painful remorse was the immediate consequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general fast, and public prayers were offered up to ask forgiveness for the presumption of having supposed that heaven could have been pleased with sacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

POSTERITY will, probably, never know exactly what was the cause or remedy of this dreadful disorder. It had, perhaps, its first origin in the melancholy, which these persecuted enthusiasts had brought with them from their own country,

B O O K
XVII.

which had increased with the scurvy they had contracted at sea, and had gathered fresh strength from the vapours and exhalations of a soil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniences and hardships inseparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceased like all other epidemical distempers, exhausted by its very communication; as all the disorders of the imagination are expelled in the transports of a delirium. A perfect calm succeeded this agitation; and the Puritans of New England have never since been seized with so gloomy a fit of enthusiasm.

BUT though the colony has renounced the persecuting spirit which hath stained all religious sects with blood, it has preserved some strong marks of that fanaticism and ferociousness which had signalized the melancholy days in which it took its rise.

THE small-pox, which is less frequent, but more destructive, in America than it is in Europe, occasioned, in 1721, inexpressible ravages in the province of Massachusetts Bay. This calamity suggested the idea of inoculation. In order to prove the efficacy of this fortunate preservative, a skilful and courageous physician inoculated his wife, his children, his servants, and himself. He was immediately insulted, considered as an infernal monster, and threatened with assassination. These outrages not having been able to prevent a very promising young man from having recourse to this salutary practice, a wicked, superstitious person got up to his window in the night-time,

time, and threw a grenade into his room, filled with combustible materials. BOOK
XVII.

THE most reasonable among the citizens were not disgusted with these atrocious acts; and their indignation was exerted rather against those bold spirits, who were accused of preferring the skill of man to the care of providence. The people were confirmed by these extravagant doctrines, in the resolution of rejecting a novelty, which was to draw down upon the whole state, the infallible and terrible effects of the divine wrath. The magistrates, who were apprehensive of an insurrection, ordered the physicians to assemble; and they, either from conviction, pusillanimity, or policy, declared inoculation dangerous. It was prohibited by a bill; which was received with unparalleled applause.

EUROPEANS, you feel your hair rising on your heads; you shudder with horror; and you have forgotten the obstacles which this salutary practice met with among yourselves; and you do not consider, that two hundred years ago you would have committed the same outrages. Acknowledge therefore the important services you have received from the progress of science; and entertain that respect and gratitude for the promoters of it, which you owe to useful men who have preserved you from so many crimes, which ignorance and superstition would otherwise have made you commit.

A FEW years after, a new scene was exhibited still more atrocious. For a long time past an odious reward had been granted in these provinces,

B. O. O. K.
XVII.

vinces, to such of the colonists as should put an Indian to death. This reward was increased in 1724 to 2250 livres*. John Lovewell, encouraged by so considerable a premium, formed a conspiracy of men as ferocious as himself, to go in quest of the savages. One day he discovered ten of them quietly sleeping round a large fire. He murdered them, carried their scalps to Boston, and received the promised reward. After this, have you, ye Anglo-Americans, any reproaches to make to the Spaniards? Have they ever done, or could they possibly ever do, any thing more inhuman? And yet you were men, civilized men, and you boasted of being Christians. No, you were rather monsters, fit to be exterminated; you were monsters, against whom a league that might have been formed, would have been less criminal than the one that Lovewell formed against the savages.

[THE author here introduces the story of Polly Baker, who was brought before the magistrates, and convicted the fifth time of having had a bastard child. He gives the speech she is said to have made on this occasion at full length. But as this speech is in the hands of every English reader, the translator has judged it unnecessary to swell his translation with it. The author's reasoning upon it is as follows:]

THIS speech produced an affecting change in the minds of all the audience. She was not only acquitted of either penalty or corporal punish-

ment, but her triumph was so complete, that one of her judges married her. So superior is the voice of reason to all the powers of studied eloquence. But popular prejudice has resumed its influence; whether it be, that the representations of nature alone are often stifled by an attention to political advantages, or to the benefit of society; or that, under the English government, where celibacy is not enjoined by religion, there is less excuse for an illicit commerce between the sexes, than in those countries where the clergy, the nobility, luxury, poverty, and the scandalous example given by the court and the church, all concur in degrading and corrupting the married state, in rendering it burthenfome.

NEW-ENGLAND has some remedy against bad laws in the constitution of its mother-country, where the people who have the legislative power in their own hands are at liberty to correct abuses; and it has others derived from its situation, which open a vast field to industry and population.

THIS colony, bounded on the North by Canada, on the West by New York, and on the East and South by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles along the sea coasts, and upwards of fifty miles in the inland parts.

Extent, natural history, fisheries, population, culture, manufactures, and exportations of New England.

THE clearing of the lands is not directed by chance as in the other provinces. This matter from the first was subjected to laws which are still religiously observed. No citizen whatever has the liberty of settling even upon unoccupied land. The government, desirous of preserving

BOOK
XVII.

all its members from the inroads of the savages, and of placing them in a condition to share in the protection of a well-regulated society, hath ordered that whole villages should be farmed at once. As soon as sixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a school-master, the general assembly allot them a situation, and permit them to have two representatives in the legislative body of the colony. The district assigned them always borders upon the land already cleared, and generally contains six thousand square acres. These new people chuse the situation most convenient for their habitation, which is usually of a square figure. The church is placed in the centre; the colonists divide the land among themselves, and each incloses his property with a hedge. Some woods are reserved for a common. It is thus that New England is constantly enlarging its territory, though it still continues to make one complete and well-constituted province.

THOUGH the colony be situated in the midst of the temperate zone, yet the climate is not so mild as that of some European provinces, which are under the same parallel of latitude. The winters are longer and colder; the summers shorter and hotter. The sky is commonly clear, and the rains more plentiful than lasting. The air has grown purer since its circulation has been made free by cutting down the woods; and malignant vapours, which at first carried off some of the inhabitants, are no longer complained of.

THE

THE country is divided into four provinces, ^{BOOK}
 which at first had no connection with one another. ^{XVII.}
 The necessity of maintaining an armed force
 against the savages, obliged them to form a con-
 federacy in 1643, when they took the name of the
 United Colonies. In consequence of this league,
 two deputies from each establishment used to meet
 in a stated place, to deliberate upon the common
 affairs of New England, according to the in-
 structions they had received from the assembly by
 which they were sent. This association was not
 in any manner repugnant to the right which each
 of its members had, to act in every respect as he
 chose.

THEY were almost as much independent of the
 mother-country. When the settlement was al-
 lowed to be made, it had been agreed that their
 code of laws should not contradict, in any respect,
 the legislation of the mother-country; that the
 judging of any capital crime committed upon
 their territory, should be reserved for it; and
 that their whole trade should be centered in its
 ports. None of these engagements were fulfilled;
 and other obligations, of less importance, were
 equally neglected. The spirit of republicanism
 had already acquired so great an influence, as to
 prevent these arrangements from being consider-
 ed as binding. The colonists limited their sub-
 mission to the acknowledging, in a vague manner,
 the king of England to be their sovereign.

MASSACHUSETT, the most flourishing of the four
 provinces, indulged itself in greater liberties than
 the others, and did it openly. This haughty be-

BOOK
XVII.

haviour drew the resentment of Charles II. upon them. In 1684 this monarch took away the charter which had been granted to them by his father. He established an almost arbitrary government, and ventured to levy taxes for his own use. Despotism did not decrease under his successor. Accordingly, on the first intelligence of his being dethroned, his deputy was arrested, put in irons, and sent back to Europe.

WILLIAM III. though very well satisfied with this ardent zeal, did not restore to the Massachusetts their ancient privileges, according to their desires, and, perhaps, to their wishes. It is true that he restored them a charter, but a charter which was in nothing resembling the first.

By the new charter, the governor appointed by the court, was to be in possession of the exclusive right of convening, proroguing, or dissolving the national assembly. It was he alone who could give a sanction to the laws that were decreed, and to the taxes imposed by the assembly. The nomination of every military employment belonged to this commandant. It was he, assisted by the council, who appointed the magistrates. The other less important places could not be disposed of without his consent. The public treasury was never opened but by his order, confirmed by the concurrence of the council. His authority was likewise extended to some other matters, which put a great restraint upon liberty. Connecticut and Rhode Island, by a timely submission, prevented the punishment the province of Massachusetts Bay had

had incurred, and retained their original charter. BOOK
XVII.
That of New Hampshire had been always regulated by the same mode of administration as the province of Massachusetts Bay. The same governor presided over the four provinces: but with regulations adapted to the constitution of each colony.

ACCORDING to an account published by the general congress of the English American continent, there are four hundred thousand inhabitants at Massachusetts Bay; one hundred and ninety-two thousand at Connecticut; one hundred and fifty thousand at New Hampshire; and fifty-nine thousand six hundred and seventy-eight at Rhode Island; which forms, in this settlement alone, a population of eighty-one thousand six hundred and seventy-eight souls.

THIS great multiplication of men, should seem to arise from an excellent soil; but this is not the case. All the countries, except some parts of Connecticut, were originally covered with pine trees; and, consequently, are either entirely barren, or not very fertile. None of the European seeds thrive there; and their produce hath never been sufficient for the nourishment of its inhabitants. They have always been obliged to live upon maize, or to draw part of their subsistence from elsewhere. Accordingly, though the country be generally very fit for the culture of fruit and of vegetables, and for the breeding of cattle, yet the country places are not the most interesting part of those regions. It is upon coasts surrounded with rocks, but which are favourable to fishing,

B O O K
XVII.

fishing, that the population hath augmented, activity hath increased, and easy circumstances are become general.

THIS insufficiency of the harvests ought to have excited industry in New England sooner, and more particularly, than in the rest of the continent. Several ships were even constructed there for foreign navigators, the materials for which, at present so scarce and so expensive, were, for a long time, common and cheap. The facility of procuring beaver skins, occasioned the establishing of a considerable hat manufactory. Cloths were also made of flax and hemp; and with the fleeces of their flocks, the colony fabricated stuffs, which are coarse but strong.

To these manufactures, which may be called national, another branch of industry was added, supported by foreign materials. Sugar yields a residuum, known by the name of syrup, or molasses. The people of New England went to fetch it from the West Indies, and used it at first just as it was, for various purposes. At length the idea of distilling it suggested itself to them. They sold a prodigious quantity of this rum to the neighbouring savages; to the men employed in the cod-fishery, and to all the northern provinces; they even carried it to the coasts of Africa, where they disposed of it with considerable advantage, to the English employed in the purchase of slaves.

THIS branch of trade, and other circumstances, enabled the inhabitants of New England to appropriate to themselves part of the commodities,
both

both of South and of North America. The ex- BOOK
XVII.
changes between these two regions, which are so necessary to them both, passed through their hands; and they became, in some measure, brokers, as the Hollanders, of the New World.

THE greatest resource of those provinces, however, always was the fishery; which was very considerable, even upon their own coasts. A prodigious quantity of boats is seen in every river, bay, or port, which are employed in catching salmon, sturgeon, cod, and other kinds of fish, which are all sold to advantage.

MACKEREL is caught principally at the mouth of the Pentagouet, which empties itself in Fundy, or French Bay, at the extremity of the colony. In spring and in autumn, fourteen or fifteen hundred boats, and two thousand five hundred men, are employed in this fishery.

THE cod fishery is still more advantageous to New England. Its numerous ports send out annually five hundred vessels, of fifty tons burthen, the crews of which amount to four thousand men. They catch at least two hundred and fifty thousand quintals of cod.

THESE colonies employ themselves likewise in the whale fishery. Before the year 1763, New England carried on this fishery in the Gulph of Florida, in March, April, and May; and to the east of the Great Bank of Newfoundland, in June, July, and August. There were no more than one hundred and twenty sloops, each of seventy tons burthen, and sixteen hundred sailors, sent out for this

B O O K this purpose at that time. In 1767, this fishery
XVII. employed seven thousand two hundred and ninety
 sailors. Let us investigate the causes of this considerable increase.

GREAT BRITAIN was for a long time agitated with the desire of sharing the whale fishery with the Dutch. In order to succeed in this, towards the latter end of the reign of Charles II. the inhabitants of that kingdom were discharged from paying any duty to the custom-house, upon the produce arising from the fish which they should obtain from the Northern Sea: but this indulgence was not extended to the colonies, who were obliged to pay a duty of 56 livres 5 sols * for every tun of oil and of whalebone, at their entrance into the mother-country; this duty was only diminished by one half, when these articles were imported on English bottoms.

To this tax, which was already too burthen-some, another was added in 1699, of 5 sols 7 deniers † for every pound weight of whalebone; which bore equally upon America and upon Europe. This new tax produced such fatal consequences, that it was found necessary to suppress it in 1723; but it was only taken off for the whales caught in Greenland, in Davis's Streights, or in the adjoining seas. The fishery on the Northern continent still remained subject to the new, as well as the old duty.

* 2l. 6s. 10½d.

† About 2½d.

THE ministry, perceiving that the exemption of ^{B O O K} the duty was not sufficient to excite the emulation ^{XVII.} of the English, had recourse to encouragements. In 1732, a gratuity of 22 livres 10 sols * was given; and sixteen years after, another of 45 livres † for every ton conveyed by the ships employed in this important fishery. This generosity of government produced part of the good effects which were expected from it. Great Britain, however, far from being able to vie with their rivals in foreign markets, was still obliged to purchase annually to the value of three or four hundred thousand livres ‡ of train oil and whalebone.

SUCH was the state of things, when the seas of North America, which belonged to the French, became an English possession at the last peace. Immediately the New-Englanders went there in numbers to catch whales, which are very plenty. They were exonerated by parliament from the duties which oppressed them; and their industry became still more active. It must naturally be communicated to the neighbouring colonies; and it is probable that the United Provinces will, in process of time, be deprived of this important branch of their trade.

THE whale fishery is carried on in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and in the adjacent latitudes, upon seas less tempestuous, and less embarrassed with ice, than those of Greenland. According;

* 18s. 9d.

† 11. 17s. 6d.

‡ From 12,500l. to 16,666l. 13s. 4d.

B O O K ly, it begins sooner, and ends later. Fewer fatal
XVII. accidents happen there. The ships employed for
 the purpose are smaller, and have less numerous
 crews. These reasons must give to the American
 continent advantages, which the oeconomy of the
 Dutch will never be able to balance. The Eng-
 lish of Europe themselves hoped to share this
 superiority with their colonists, because they ex-
 pected to add to the profits accruing from the
 fishery, that which they were to collect from the
 sale of their cargoes; a resource which was not
 allowed to the navigators who frequented Davis's
 Streights or the Greenland seas.

THE vendible productions of New England are
 cod, train-oil, whales, tallow, cyder, salt meats,
 maize, hogs and oxen, pot-ash, pulse, masts for
 merchantmen and men of war, and all kinds of
 woods. The Azore Islands, Madeira, the Cana-
 ries, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Great Britain, and
 principally the West Indies, hitherto consumed
 these articles. In 1769, the united exports of
 the four provinces amounted to 13,844,430 livres
 19 sols 5 deniers*. But this colony received ha-
 bitually more than it sent out, since it was con-
 stantly indebted twenty-four or twenty-five mil-
 lions of livres† to the mother-country.

SOME ships are dispatched from every one of
 the extremely numerous ports that are on these
 coasts. The principal voyages, however, from
 Connecticut, are undertaken at Newhaven; those

* About 576,851 l. 5s. 9½ d.

† From 1,000,000 l. to 1,041,666 l. 13s. 4d.

to Rhode-Island, at Newport; those to Hampshire, at Portsmouth; and those to Massachusetts Bay, at Boston. BOOK
XVII.

THIS last city, which may be considered as the capital of New-England, is situated on a peninsula, four miles in length, at the bottom of the fine bay of Massachusetts, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is sheltered from the impetuosity of the waves by a number of rocks which rise above the water, and by twelve small islands, most of which are inhabited. These dikes and natural ramparts will not allow more than three ships to come in together. At the end of the last century, a regular citadel, named Fort William, was erected in one of the islands upon this narrow channel. It is defended by a hundred pieces of cannon of the largest size, and very well placed. A league further on, is a very high light-house, the signals from which may be perceived and repeated by the fortress along the whole coast, at the same time that Boston has her own light-houses, which spread the alarm to all the island country. Except when a very thick fog happens to prevail, which some ships might take advantage of to slip into the islands, the town has always five or six hours to prepare for the reception of an enemy, and to assemble ten thousand militia, which can be collected in four and twenty hours. If a fleet should ever be able to pass the artillery of Fort William, it would infallibly be stoppt by a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and south of the place, command the whole bay, and would
give

BOOK
XVII.

give time for all the vessels and commercial stores to be sheltered from cannon shot in the river Charles.

THE harbour of Boston is so spacious, that six hundred vessels may anchor in it safely and commodiously. There is a magnificent pier constructed, projecting sufficiently into the sea to allow the ships to unload their goods without the assistance of a lighter, and to deposit them into the warehouses which are ranged on the north side. At the extremity of the pier, the town appears built upon an uneven territory, in form of a crescent round the harbour. Before the disturbances, it contained about thirty-five or forty thousand inhabitants, of various sects. The houses, furniture, dress, food, conversation, customs and manners, were so exactly similar to the mode of living in London, that it was scarce possible to find any other difference, but that which arises from the greater numbers of people there are in large capitals.

The Dutch found the colony of New Belgia, afterwards called New York.

NEW-ENGLAND, which resembles the mother-country in so many respects, is contiguous to New-York. The latter, bounded on the east by this principal colony, and on the west by New-Jersey, occupies at first a very narrow space of twenty miles along the sea-shore, and insensibly enlarging, extends to the north above a hundred and fifty miles up the country.

THIS country was discovered towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, by Henry Hudson, a famous English navigator, at that time in the Dutch service. He entered into a

considerable river, to which he gave his name, and after slightly reconnoitring the coast, returned to Amsterdam, from whence he had sailed. A second voyage, undertaken by this adventurer, gave some better idea of this savage country.

B O O K
XVII.

ACCORDING to the European system, which never pays any attention to the people of the New World, this country should have belonged to the United Provinces. It was discovered by a man in their service, who took possession of it in their name, and gave up to them any personal right he might have in it. His being an Englishman did not in the least invalidate these uncontrovertible titles. It must therefore have occasioned great surprise, when James the First asserted his pretensions to it, upon the principle that Hudson was born his subject; as if any man's country was not that in which he earns his subsistence; and indeed the king laid but a slight stress upon a pretension for which there was so little foundation.

THE republic, who saw nothing in this property, which was no longer contested with them, except a settlement for the trade of the beaver and other peltries, ceded it to the West India company. This society directed all its attention towards these savage riches; and in order to get as near them as possible, they caused Fort Orange, since called Albany, to be erected upon the borders of Hudson's River, at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from the sea. It was there that the furs were brought to their agents, who gave in exchange to the Iroquois, fire-arms

BOOK
XVII.

and warlike stores, to enable them to resist the French, who were lately arrived in Canada.

At that time New Belgia was nothing more than a factory. The city of Amsterdam became sensible that it would be a judicious thing to establish a colony in that part of the New World, and easily obtained the cession of it, by giving 700,000 livres * to the proprietors.

THESE more extensive views required other arrangements. The post placed in the neighbourhood of the Five Nations was left standing; but it appeared necessary to establish a more considerable one at the mouth of the river, in the island of Manahatan; and accordingly, New Amsterdam was built there. Neither the town, its territories, nor the rest of the province, were ever disturbed by the neighbouring savages, some of whom were too weak to make any attempts, and the others were perpetually at war with the French. This possession, therefore, was making a rapid progress, when it was visited by an unexpected storm.

At what period, and in what manner, the English make themselves masters of New Belgia.

ENGLAND, which had not at that time those intimate connections with Holland, which the ambition and successes of Lewis XIV. have since given rise to between the two powers, beheld with a jealous eye a small state, but lately formed in its neighbourhood, extending its flourishing trade to all parts of the world. She was inwardly incensed at the idea of not being able to attain to an equality with a power which ought not even

to have entered into a competition with her. BOOK
XVII.
 These rivals in commerce, as in navigation, by their vigilance and œconomy, ruined her in all the great markets of the universe, and obliged her to act only a secondary part. Every effort she made to establish a competition ended either to her disadvantage or discredit, while universal commerce was evidently concentrating itself in the morasses of the republic. At length the nation was roused by the disgrace of their merchants, and resolved to secure to them by force what they could not obtain by their industry. Charles II. notwithstanding his aversion for business, and his immoderate love of pleasure, eagerly adopted a plan which gave him a prospect of acquiring the riches of those distant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterprising than himself, encouraged him in these dispositions; and with one consent, they ordered that the settlements and ships of the Dutch should be attacked, without any previous declaration of war.

HOSTILITIES begun in this manner are both cowardly and perfidious. They are the act of a hord of savages, and not of a civilized nation; of a dark assassins, and not of a warlike prince. No person who puts any confidence in his strength, and who hath any elevation of soul, will surprize a sleeping adversary. If any one may be allowed to take advantage of my security, may I not also avail myself of his? Such conduct compels both parties to be incessantly in arms;

BOOK
XVII.

the state of war becomes permanent, and peace is no more than a word devoid of meaning. There is either a just reason for attacking an enemy, or there is none. If there be none, the party that begins the attack is nothing more than a dangerous robber, against whom all ought to unite, and whom they have a right to exterminate. If, on the contrary, there be a reason for commencing hostilities, it ought to be notified. Nothing can authorize the seizure of possessions, except the refusal to repair an injury, or to restore any thing that is usurped. Before you become the aggressor, let the world be convinced of the injustice that is done to you. The only thing that can be allowed, is to make secret preparations for revenge, to dissemble your projects, if they cause any alarm, and to leave no interval between the refusal of justice and the beginning of hostilities. If you should be weaker than your adversary, you must intreat and suffer with patience. Must you be a traitor, because another person is an usurper? Despise the common maxim, and do not supply either the strength you may be deficient in, or the courage which might expose you, by treachery. Let the opinion of your contemporaries, and that of posterity, be always present to your mind.

In the month of August 1664, an English Squadron anchored on the coasts of New Belgia, the capital of which surrendered upon the first summons, and the rest of the colony made no greater resistance. This conquest was insured to the English by the treaty of Breda. But they
were

were deprived of it again by the republic in 1673, when the intrigues of France had set these two maritime powers at variance, which, for their mutual interests, ought ever to be united. A second treaty again restored to the English, in the following year, a province which hath since remained attached to their dominion, but as the property of the king's brother, who gave his name to it.

BOOK
XVII.

NEW-YORK was governed by the deputies of this prince with sufficient address to prevent the indignation of the colonists from being excited against their persons. The public hatred was fixed upon their master, who had kept all the power in his own hands. This political slavery equally disgusted both the Dutch, who had preferred their plantations to their country, and the English who had joined them. The people, accustomed to liberty, became impatient under the yoke. Every thing seemed tending either to an insurrection or to an emigration. The commotion was put a stop to only in 1683, when the colony was invited to choose representatives, who might regulate in assemblies what would be proper for its interests.

The colony is ceded to the Duke of York. Principles upon which he founded its administration.

COLONEL DUNCAN, who was intrusted with this business, was a man of a bold and extensive mind. He did not confine himself, like those who had hitherto governed the province, to the ceding of lands to every person who offered to clear them; he also extended his care to the Five Nations, which had been too much neglected by his predecessors. The French were for ever en-

B O O K
XVII.

deavouring to disunite these savages, in hopes of enslaving them: and they had advanced this great undertaking by means of the converts made by their missionaries. It was the business of England to disconcert this plan; but the Duke of York, who had views of interest distinct from that of his country, was desirous that his deputy should favour the execution of it. Duncan, though a Catholic, constantly deviated from the plan that was traced out for him, and exerted his utmost efforts to thwart a system which appeared to him to be founded rather upon policy than religion. He even annoyed, by every possible measure, the nation that was the rival of his; and the memoirs of the times attest, that he greatly retarded their progress.

THE conduct of this able chief was different in the interior part of the colony. He encouraged, both from inclination, and in obedience to orders, the establishment of the families of his own and of his prince's religion. This protection was accompanied with a kind of mystery; but as soon as James II. had ascended the throne, the collector of the public revenues, the principal officers, and a great number of citizens, declared themselves partisans of the church of Rome.

THIS occasioned a great ferment in the minds of the people. The Protestant cause was thought to be in danger; and prudent men were apprehensive of an insurrection. Duncan succeeded in keeping the malecontents in order; but the revolution obliged him to make a voluntary resignation of his post. He submitted, like a good Englishman,

Englishman, to the new government, and by a haughtiness of character peculiar to his nation, he sent over to the dethroned monarch all the riches he had acquired in a long and prosperous administration.

B O O K
XVII.

THIS singular man had scarce quitted America, before the inhabitants of New England expelled their governor, Edmund Andrews, one of the most active promoters of the arbitrary views of King James. Some militia of New York, seduced by this example, endeavoured to treat Nicholson, who was temporarily intrusted with the government, in the same manner; but he succeeded in forming a party in his favour, and the colony became the prey of two armed factions, till the arrival of Colonel Slaughter.

THIS commander, who was sent by King William, convoked the members of the state, on the 9th of April 1691. This assembly annulled every thing which had been previously decreed contrary to the British constitution, and enacted laws which have ever since been the rule of the colony. At this period, the executive power was placed in the hands of the governor appointed by the crown, which gave him twelve counsellors, without whose concurrence he could not sign any act. The commons were represented by thirty deputies, chosen by the inhabitants, and these several bodies constituted the general assembly, in which every power was vested. The duration of this assembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years, and it was continued

King William gives a government to this colony. Events previous to this new arrangement.

seven, like the British parliament, the revolutions of which it hath followed.

It was time that an invariable order should be established in the colony. It was obliged to sustain, against the French in Canada, a brisk and obstinate war, which had been kindled by the de-throning of James II. These hostilities, terminated by the treaty of Ryswick, began again on account of the Spanish succession. The provinces adjacent to New York took some part in these divisions; but it was this province which gave or sustained the greatest strokes, which paid the troops, and which was drawn into the most considerable expences.

UNFORTUNATELY, the contributions of the citizens, which were ordered by the general assembly, were collected in a chest, that was entirely at the disposal of the governor. It often happened, that rapacious or extravagant commanders converted to their own use the funds destined for the public service. This became a perpetual source of dissension. Queen Anne decreed, in 1705, that the same authority by which the taxes were imposed, should determine the use they were to be applied to, and might require an account to be given of the manner in which they had been employed.

THOUGH the malversations were stopped by this arrangement, yet the duties paid by the province were not adequate to the expences which the continuation of the war required. This embarrassment occasioned, for the first time, in

1709,

1709, the creation of bills of credit, which were afterwards much more multiplied than either the wants of the colony required, or than was consistent with its advantage.

B O O K
XVII.

BURNET, a son of the famous bishop of that name who had so much contributed to the placing of the house of Orange upon the throne, was appointed governor of the colony in 1720. But though he did not succeed in putting a stop to this disorder, yet he formed another plan for the prosperity of the colony. The French inhabitants of Canada wanted, for the purpose of their exchange with the savages, several articles which were not furnished by their mother-country: these they drew from New York. The general assembly of that province, by the advice of their governor, prohibited this communication. But as it was not sufficient to have embarrassed the measures of an active rival, it was determined to supply their place.

A GREAT part of the furs which were carried to Montreal, passed over the western shores of the lake Ontario. Burnet obtained the consent of the Iroquois, in 1722, to build there the fort Oswego, where these savage riches might be easily intercepted. As soon as this settlement was formed, the merchants of Albany sent their merchandise to Chenectady, where they were embarked upon the Mohawks, which conveyed them to Oswego. The navigation of this river is very difficult, and yet the English succeeded beyond their expectations. These exchanges would even

§ 0 0 4 even have been increased had they not been
 xvii. thwarted by every kind of difficulty.

IN 1726, the French constructed a fort at Niagara, where the furs, which without this settlement must have been carried to Oswego, were detained. The English merchandise, which could no more be openly received, was fraudulently conveyed till the year 1729, a remarkable period in which the interests of individuals caused the law which forbade this commerce to be revoked. England too at length laid heavier taxes upon the fur trade than were paid by the French.

WHILE these various impediments diminished the connections which it was hoped would have been formed with the savages, the cultures were carried on with great spirit and success throughout the whole extent of the province. They had languished for some time, indeed, in these countries where James II. had granted immense territories to some men too highly favoured; but these countries had at length been peopled as well as the others. Unfortunately, most of the inhabitants only occupied, as in Scotland, lands transferable at the will of the ground landlord; and still more unfortunately, this dependence gave the great proprietors a very dangerous influence in the public deliberations.

THIS defect in the government was particularly fatal in the two destructive wars which the colony was obliged to sustain against the French, in 1744 and in 1756. It experienced, during these misfortunes, calamities which it might at least

least partly have avoided, if the efforts made to ^{B O O K} repulse these enterprising men, and their ferocious ^{XVII.} allies, had been concerted in time, and better planned. It was necessary that Canada should become a British possession at the peace of 1763, in order to enable New York to attend constantly, and without embarrassment or anxiety, to the extension of its trade with the savages, and to the clearing of its plantations.

THIS province, the limits of which were not settled till after the longest, the most violent, and the most obstinate contests, with New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, consists at present of ten counties. It hath but a small extent towards the sea, but in depth its territory reaches as far as lake George or St. Sacrament, and as far as lake Ontario. Hudson's river issues from mountains situated between these two lakes. This can receive none but small canoes for the space of sixty-five miles; and even that navigation is interrupted by two water-falls, which oblige the persons concerned in it to carry their cargoes twice over land the length of about two hundred toises each time. But from Albany to the ocean, that is to say, through a space of one hundred and fifty miles, vessels of forty or fifty tons burthen are seen constantly sailing, day and night, with the tide, upon this magnificent canal, during all seasons, without the least risque; and which keep up a continual and rapid circulation in the colony.

Soil, population, and commerce of the colony.

LONG ISLAND, the part of this great settlement which the navigators first meet with, is separated

B O O K
XVII.

parated from the continent by a narrow channel. It is one hundred and twenty miles long, and twelve broad, and is divided into three counties. The savages who occupied this great space, either removed from it, or perished successively. Their oppressors owed their first prosperity to the whale and the seal fishery. When these fish, who delight in deserted coasts, disappeared, the breeding of cattle, especially of horses, was attended to. Some cultures have since been established upon this too sandy soil.

THE ground is more uneven upon the continent; but it becomes more even and more fertile in proportion as one approaches the lakes of Canada. If the marshes which still cover the extremity of this colony should be ever dried up, and if the rivers by which it is watered should be ever confined within their beds, this country will become the most fruitful of the colony.

ACCORDING to the last accounts, the province contains two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, of various nations and of different sects. The rich peltries which they obtain from the savages, and such of their own productions as they do not consume, are conveyed to the general mart. This is a city of importance, at present known, as well as the rest of the colony, by the name of New York. It was formerly built by the Dutch, in the island of Manahatton, which is fourteen miles long, and one mile is its greatest breadth.

TRADE hath collected in this city, the climate of which is very wholesome, eighteen or twenty thousand

thousand inhabitants, upon an extent of ground ^{BOOK}
 which is partly low and partly raised. The ^{XVII.}
 streets are very irregular, but exceedingly neat. The houses, built with brick, and covered with tiles, are more convenient than elegant. The provisions are abundant, of excellent quality, and cheap. Easy circumstances prevail universally. The lowest class of people have a certain resource in oysters, the fishery of which alone employs two hundred boats.

THE town, situated two miles from the mouth of Hudson's River, hath; properly speaking, neither harbour nor basin, but doth not stand in need of either. Its port, which is open in all seasons; is accessible to ships of the largest sizes, and being sheltered from all storms, is sufficient for it. From hence the numerous ships come forth, which are dispatched to different latitudes. The provisions or merchandise which were exported in 1769, amounted to 4,352,446 livres 7 sols 9 deniers *. Since this period, the productions of the colony have increased visibly; and this increase must be carried still further, since no more than one half of the lands are cleared, and since those grounds which are so, are not so well cultivated as they will be when the population shall become more considerable.

THE Dutch, who were the first founders of the colony, established in it that spirit of order and oeconomy which is the universal characteristic of their nation. As they always constituted the

Ancient and
 modern
 manners of
 New York.

* About 181,351 l. 18 s. 8 d.

majority

B O O K
XVII.

majority of the people, even after these had changed masters, those whom conquest had associated to them generally adopted their manners. The Germans, compelled to take refuge in America by the religious persecution which drove them out of the Palatinate, or the other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to this modest behaviour; and the English and French, who were not accustomed to so much frugality, soon conformed, either from motives of wisdom or emulation, to a mode of living less expensive and more familiar than that which is regulated by fashion and parade. From thence it followed, that the colonists did not contract any debts with the mother-country; that they preserved an intire liberty in their sales and purchases, and have been enabled always to give the most advantageous turn to their affairs.

SUCH was the state of the colony till 1763. At this period New York became the general abode of the principal officers and of part of the troops, which Great Britain thought necessary to maintain in North America, either to keep it in awe, or to defend it. This multitude of unemployed and unmarried men, who were constantly endeavouring to deceive their own idleness, and to strive against the wearisomeness of life, dispersed themselves among the citizens, to whom they inspired a taste for the luxuries of the table, and a turn for play. By their assiduity with the women, their conversation and their manners, they engaged them in those frivolous pursuits, those gallantries, and those amusements which
had

had so much allurements for them. The two sexes soon led the same kind of life. They rose with the same projects, and went to bed with the same extravagant ideas. This pernicious spirit communicated itself from one to another, and it still continues, unless the terrible scenes which have since stained these countries with blood, have brought about a happy revolution in the manners.

BOOK
XVII.

NEW JERSEY is situated in the neighbourhood of New York, and was known at first by the name of New Sweden. It was called thus by some adventurers of that nation, who landed upon these savage coasts towards the year 1638. They formed three settlements there, Christiana, Elizimbourg, and Gottenbourg. This colony was of no importance when it was attacked and conquered by the Dutch. Those of the inhabitants, who had a greater regard for their mother-country than for their plantations, returned into Europe. The others submitted to the laws of the conqueror, and their territory was united to New Belgia. When the Duke of York received the investiture of the province to which he gave his name, he separated what had been added, and divided it between two of his favourites, under the name of New Jersey.

Revolutions
which have
happened in
New Jersey.

CARTERET and Berkley, the first of whom received the eastern, and the other the western part of the province, solicited this vast territory, with no other view but to put it up to sale. Several speculative persons purchased from them large districts at a low price, which they sold again in smaller

B O O K smaller parcels. In the midst of these subdivi-
XVII. fions, the colony remained divided into two dis-
 tinct provinces, each separately governed by the
 heirs of their original proprietors. The difficul-
 ties which they experienced in their administra-
 tion disgusted them of this kind of sovereignty,
 which indeed was ill adapted to the condition of a
 subject. They gave up their charter to the crown
 in 1702, and from that time the two provinces
 became one, and, like the greater part of the other
 English colonies, were under the direction of a
 governor, a council, and the deputies of the com-
 mons.

THIS large country before the revolution, con-
 tained only sixteen thousand inhabitants, the de-
 scendants of Swedes and Dutch, who were its
 first cultivators; some Quakers, and some
 Church of England men, with a great number
 of Scotch Presbyterians, had joined the colonists
 of the two nations. The defects of government
 stopped the progress, and occasioned the indigence,
 of this small colony. It might therefore have
 been expected that the æra of liberty should have
 been that of the prosperity of the colony; but
 almost all the Europeans who went to the New
 World, in search either of an asylum or riches,
 preferred Pennsylvania or Carolina, which had ac-
 quired a greater share of celebrity. At length,
 however, New Jersey hath been peopled, and it
 reckons at present one hundred and thirty thou-
 sand inhabitants.

Present state
 of New Jer-
 sey, and
 what it may
 become.

THE colony is covered with flocks and with
 grain in abundance. Hemp thrives better there
 than

than in any of the neighbouring countries. An excellent copper mine hath been worked with success in it. Its coasts are accessible, and the port of Amboix, its capital, is tolerably good. It is in want of none of the means of prosperity proper for that part of the globe, and yet it hath always remained in a profound obscurity. Its name is scarcely known in the Old World, and not much more in the New. But perhaps it is not on this account the more unfortunate.

If we read over the history of nations both ancient and modern, it will be found, that there is scarce any one of them, the splendour of which hath not been acquired but at the expence of its felicity. People of whom no mention shall have been made in the melancholy annals of the world must neither have been aggressors nor exposed to attacks; they must not have interrupted the tranquillity of others, nor must theirs have been disturbed by distant or neighbouring enemies. They must not have had heroes who had returned to their country laden with the spoils of the enemy. They must have had no historian to relate either their miseries or their crimes. There mankind would never have shuddered from one age to another, at the sight of those monuments which call to mind, in all parts, the effusion of blood, and the shackles of slavery imposed at a distance, or broken at home. They must not have been torn to pieces by political factions, nor intoxicated by absurd opinions. The oppression of tyranny must never have drawn tears from their eyes nor excited them to revolt. They must

B O O K
XVII.

never have delivered themselves from a despot by assassination, nor must they ever have exterminated his satellites; for such are the events which at all times have given a celebrity to nations. On the contrary, in the midst of a long and profound tranquillity, the fields would have been cultivated, some traditional hymns would have been sung in honour of the deity, and the same love songs would have been handed down from one generation to the other. Wherefore must this alluring picture of happiness be chimerical? Because it hath never existed, and if it should exist, it could not possibly be for a long time in the midst of turbulent and ambitious nations. Whatever may be the reason of the obscurity of New Jersey, it is our duty to give them our advice upon their present and future situation.

THE poverty of this province not suffering it at first to open a direct trade with the distant or foreign markets, it was obliged to sell its productions at Philadelphia, and more commonly at New York; it obtained from these cities, in exchange, some merchandise of the mother-country, and a few of the productions of the islands. Their richest merchants even advanced money to the province, which kept it still more in a state of dependence. Notwithstanding the increase of its cultures and of its productions, it hath not yet shaken off this kind of servitude. We have now before us, accounts of incontestable authority, which prove that in 1762 New Jersey did not send any ships to Europe; and that it sent only twenty-four boats to the West Indies,

Indies, the value of whose cargoes did not amount to more than 56,965 livres 19 sols 9 deniers *. BOOK
XVII.
All the rest of its territorial riches were delivered to the neighbouring colonies who traded with them.

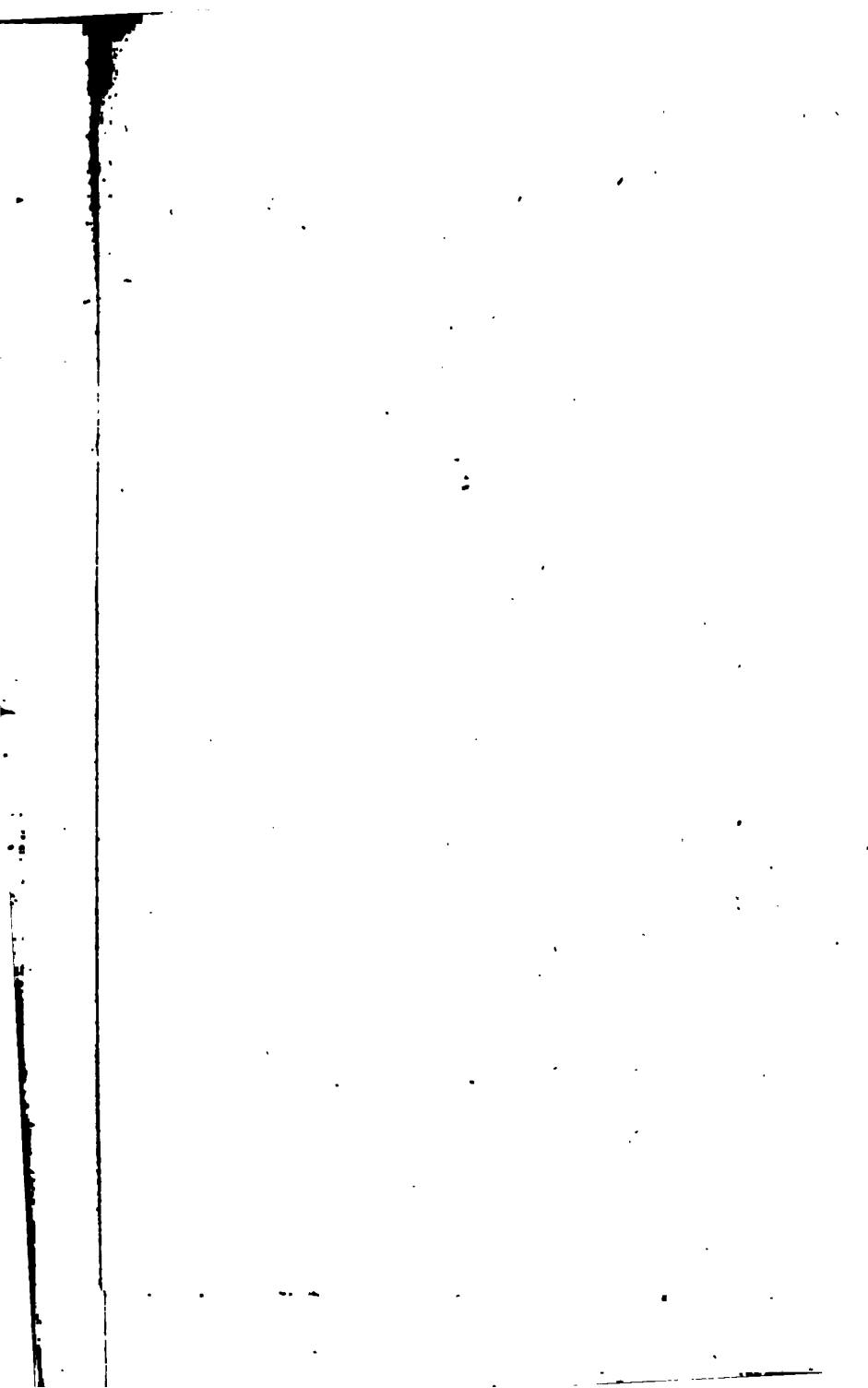
THIS situation is both ruinous and degrading. New Jersey must itself construct ships, all the materials for which nature hath given it. It must send them out into divers seas, since it is no longer in want of men. It must convey its productions to the people, who have hitherto only received them through the means of intermediary agents. It must provide itself with the produce of foreign industry at first hand, for which it hath hitherto paid too dear, on account of the useless circuits it hath gone through. It may then form vast projects, devote itself to great enterprises, be raised to that rank to which its advantages seem to call it, and be more upon a level with the provinces which have too long destroyed it by their shadow, or eclipsed it with their splendour.

MAY the views which I offer, and the counsels I address to New Jersey, be realized! May I live long enough to be a witness of them, and to rejoice at them. The happiness of my fellow-creatures, at whatever distance they may exist from me, hath never been indifferent to me: but I have felt myself moved with warm concern, in favour of those whom superstition or tyranny have expelled from their native country. I have commiserated their sufferings. When they have embarked

* About 2,373l. 11s. 8d.

B O O K
XVII.

I have turned my eyes up towards Heaven. My voice hath been joined to the noise of the winds and the waves which were carrying them beyond the seas; and I have repeatedly exclaimed, Let them prosper! Let them find in the desert and savage region which they are going to inhabit, a felicity equal, or even superior, to ours; and if they should found an empire there, let them think of preserving themselves and their posterity from the calamities which they have felt.



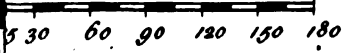


IONS adjoining.
ing to the Treaty of
1783.

25 Tho^d Kitchen Sen^r
Geographer to his
MAJESTY



British Miles 69 to a Degree.



Leagues 20 to a Degree.



PA
30

side West from Ferro

40

B O O K XVIII.

English Colonies founded in. Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. General Reflections on all these Settlements.

NO society was ever founded on injustice. B O O K XVIII.
 A people formed by a compact so extraordinary, would have been, at the same time, both Parallel between a bad and a good government.
 the most degraded and the most unfortunate of people. Declared enemies of the human race, they would equally have been intitled to compassion, from the sentiments they would have inspired, and those they would have experienced. Feared and hated by all surrounding powers, they would have incessantly been agitated by the same passions. Their misfortunes would have excited universal joy, and their prosperity general affliction. The nations would one day have united to exterminate them; but time would have rendered this league useless. It would have been sufficient for their annihilation, and for the avenging of other nations, that each of their members should have modelled his conduct upon the maxims of the state. Animated with the spirit of their institution, they would all have

T 3

been

BOOK
XVIII.

been eager to raise themselves upon the ruin of each other. No measure would have appeared too odious for this purpose. This would have been realising the fable of the race engendered from the teeth of the dragon, which Cadmus sowed upon the earth, and which was destroyed as soon as created.

How different would be the destiny of an empire founded on virtue! Agriculture, the arts, the sciences, and commerce, improved under the protection of peace, would have expelled idleness, ignorance, and misery. The chief of the state would have protected the different ranks of men in the state, and would have been adored. He would have understood that not one of the society could suffer, without some injury to the whole body, and therefore he would have attended to the happiness of all. Impartial equity would insure the observation of the treaties which it had dictated; the stability of laws, which it had simplified, and the distribution of taxes, which it would have proportioned to the public expences. All the neighbouring powers, interested in the preservation of this people, would arm in their defence, upon the least danger which should threaten them. But in default of foreign succours, they might themselves oppose, to the unjust aggressor, the impenetrable barrier of a rich and numerous people, for whom the word Country would not merely be a nominal idea. This is what may be called imaginary excellence in politics.

THESE

THESE two sorts of government are equally unknown in the annals of the world; which present us with nothing but imperfect sketches, more or less resembling the atrocious sublimity, or more or less distant from the affecting beauty, of one or the other of these great portraits. The nations which have made the most splendid figure on the theatre of the world, actuated by destructive ambition, have displayed a greater resemblance to the former. Others, more wise in their constitution, more simple in their manners, more limited in their views, and enveloped, if we may use the expression, with a kind of secret happiness, seemed to be more conformable to the second. Among the latter Pennsylvania may be reckoned.

B O O K
XVIII.

LUTHERANISM, which was destined to cause a remarkable change in Europe, either by its own influence, or by the example it gave, had occasioned a great ferment in the minds of all men; when there arose, in the midst of the commotions it excited, a new religion, which, at first, appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticism, than like a sect that was governed by any fixed principle. The generality of innovators in religion follow a regular system, composed of doctrines connected with each other, and contend, at first, only to defend them; till persecution irritates and stimulates them to rebellion, so that at length they have recourse to arms. The Anabaptists, on the contrary, as if they had only looked into the bible for the word of command

The Quakers found Pennsylvania. Manners of that sect.

B O O K
XVIII.

to attack, lifted up the standard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a system of doctrine. It is true, indeed, their leaders had taught, that it was a ridiculous and useless practice to administer baptism to infants, and asserted that their opinion upon this point was the same as that of the primitive church; but they had not yet ever reduced to practice this article of belief, which was the only one that furnished a pretence for their separation. The spirit of sedition prevented them from paying a proper attention to the schismatic tenets on which their division was founded. To shake off the tyrannical yoke of church and state, was their law and their faith. To enlist in the armies of the Lord, to join with the faithful, who were to wield the sword of Gideon, this was their device, their motive, and their signal for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and sword into a great part of Germany, that the Anabaptists thought of giving some basis and some connection to their creed, and of marking and cementing their confederacy by some visible sign of union. Having been united at first by inspiration to raise a body of troops, in 1525 they were united to compose a religious code.

In this mixed system of intolerance and mildness, the Anabaptist church, being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught, neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

THE spirit of the Lord blowing wheresoever it listeth, the power of preaching is not limited to
one

one order of the faithful, but is dispensed to all. Every one likewise has the gift of prophecy.

B O O K
XVIII.

EVERY sect which hath not preserved a community of all things which constituted the life and spirit of primitive Christianity, has degenerated, and is for that reason an impure society.

MAGISTRATES are useless in a society of the truly faithful. A Christian never has occasion for any; nor is a Christian allowed to be one himself.

CHRISTIANS are not permitted to take up arms even in their own defence, much less is it lawful for them to enlist as soldiers in mercenary armies.

BOTH law-suits and oaths are forbidden the disciples of Christ, who has commanded them to let their yea, be yea, and their nay, nay.

THE baptism of infants is an invention of the devil and the pope. The validity of baptism depends upon the voluntary consent of adults, who alone are able to receive it with a consciousness of the engagement they take upon themselves.

SUCH was in its origin the religious system of the Anabaptists. Though it appears founded on charity and mildness, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of stations, is the most dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized society. To preach this system to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights; it is leading them on to assassination and plunder. It is letting do-

BOOK
XVIII.

domestic animals loose, and transforming them into wild beasts. The rulers of the people must be more enlightened, or the laws by which they are governed must be softened; but there is in fact no such thing in nature as a real equality; it exists only in the system of equity. Even the savages themselves are not equal when once they are collected into hords. They are only so while they wander in the woods; and even then the man who suffers the produce of his chase to be taken from him, is not the equal of him who deprives him of it. Such has been the origin of all societies.

A DOCTRINE, the basis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly calculated to find partizans any where but among the poor. The peasants therefore adopted it with the greater enthusiasm, in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more insupportable. The far greater part, especially those who were condemned to slavery, rose up in arms on all sides, to support a doctrine, which, from being vassals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehension of seeing one of the first bands of society, obedience to the magistrate, broken, united all other sects against them, who could not subsist without subordination. After having carried on a more obstinate resistance than could have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their sect, notwithstanding it had made its way all over Germany, and into a part of the North, was no
where

where prevalent, because it had been every where opposed and dispersed. It was but just tolerated in those countries, in which the greatest latitude of opinion was allowed; and there was not any state in which it was able to settle a church, authorised by the civil power. This of course weakened it, and from obscurity it fell into contempt. Its only glory is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the sect of Quakers.

B O O K
XVIII.

THIS humane and peaceable sect arose in England, amidst the confusions of that bloody war, which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the scaffold by his own subjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower class of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a singular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his employment. In order to wean himself entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other amusement but his bible. In time he even learned to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inspiration similar to that of the apostles and the prophets.

Origin and
character of
the Quakers.

He then began to think of making proselytes, in which he found no difficulty in a country where the minds of all men were filled and disturbed with enthusiastic notions. He was, therefore, soon followed by a multitude of disciples, the novelty
and

BOOK
XVIII.

and singularity of whose opinions, upon incomprehensible subjects, could not fail of attracting and fascinating all those who were fond of the marvellous.

THE first thing by which they caught the eye, was the simplicity of their dress, in which there was no gold or silver lace, no embroidery, laces, or ruffles, and from which they affected to banish every thing that was superfluous or unnecessary. They would not suffer either a button in the hat or a plait in the coat, because it was possible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for established modes reminded those who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the rest of men, from whom they distinguished themselves by this external modesty.

ALL outward marks of deference, which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from those who are unable to refuse them, were disdained by the Quakers, who disclaimed the names of master and servant. They condemned all titles, as being tokens of pride in those who claimed them, and of meanness in those who bestowed them. They did not allow to any person whatever the appellation of eminence or excellence, and so far they might be in the right; but they refused to comply with those reciprocal demonstrations of respect which we call politeness, and in this they were to blame. The name of friend, they said, was not to be refused by one christian or citizen to another, but the ceremony of bowing they considered as ridiculous and troublesome. To pull off the hat they held to be a want of respect to

to a man's self, in order to shew it to others. BOOK
XVIII.
They carried this idea so far, that even the magistrates could not compel them to any external mark of reverence; but they addressed both them and princes according to the ancient majesty of language, in the second person and in the singular number; and they justified this licence by the custom of those very persons who were offended at it, and who used to address their saints and their God in the same manner.

THE austerity of their morals ennobled the singularity of their manners. The use of arms, considered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it were to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity, if to defend one's self, it was breaking through those of christianity. Universal peace was the gospel they had agreed to profess. If any one smote a Quaker upon one cheek, he immediately presented the other; if any one asked him for his coat, he offered his waistcoat too. Nothing could engage these equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take less than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magistrate, and in support of a just cause, they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched disputes that arise between weak and perishable beings.

THE contempt they entertained for the outward forms of politeness in civil life, was changed into aversion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the ostentatious edifices of priestcraft; they considered the

B O O K
XVIII.

the sabbath as a pernicious and idle institution, and baptism and the Lord's Supper as ridiculous symbols. For this reason they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghost, which gave a character far superior to that of the priesthood. When they were assembled together, the first person who found himself inspired, arose, and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of speech, which they called the gift of prophecy; sometimes many of these holy brethren spoke at the same time; but much more frequently a profound silence prevailed in their assemblies.

THE enthusiasm occasioned both by their meditations and discourses, excited such a degree of sensibility in the nervous system, that it threw them into convulsions, for which reason they were called Quakers. To have cured these people in process of time of their folly, nothing more was requisite than to turn it into ridicule; but instead of this, persecution contributed to make it more general. While every other new sect met with encouragement, this was exposed to every kind of punishment; imprisonments, whippings, pillories, mad-houses, were none of them thought too terrible for bigots, whose only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reasonable over-much. The constancy with which they bore their sufferings, at first excited compassion, and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwell, who had been one of their most violent enemies, because they

they used to insinuate themselves into his camps, and dissuade his soldiers from their profession, gave them public marks of his esteem. His policy exerted itself in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate to himself a higher degree of respect and consideration; but they either eluded his invitations, or rejected them; and he afterwards confessed, that this was the only religion which was not to be influenced by bribery.

B O O K
XVIII.

AMONG the several persons who cast a temporary lustre on the sect, the only one who deserves to be remembered by posterity, is William Penn. He was the son of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally distinguished by Cromwell, and the two Stuarts, who held the reins of government after him. This able seaman, more supple and more insinuating than men of his profession usually are, had made several considerable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not admitted of the repayment of these loans during his life, and as affairs were not in a better situation at his death, it was proposed to his son, that instead of money, he should accept of an immense territory in America. It was a country, which, though long since discovered and surrounded by English colonies, had always been neglected. A spirit of benevolence made him accept with pleasure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almost as a sovereignty, and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the asylum of the

Foundation
of Pennsylv-
ania by
Penn
Principles
of his legis-
lation.

BOOK
VIII.

the unfortunate. With this generous design, towards the end of the year 1681, he set sail for his new possessions, which from that time took the name of Pennsylvania. All the Quakers were desirous to follow him, in order to avoid the persecution raised against them by the clergy, on account of their not complying with the tithes and other ecclesiastical fees; but from prudential motives he declined taking over any more than two thousand.

His arrival in the New World was signalized by an act of equity, which made his person and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right given him to his extensive territory, by the grant he had received of it from the British ministry, he determined to make it his own property by purchasing it of the natives. The price he gave to the savages is not known; but though some people accuse them of stupidity for consenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not less entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans. He rendered himself as much as possible a legal possessor of the territory, and by the use he made of it supplied any deficiency there might be in the validity of his title. The Americans entertained as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an aversion for all those which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good
good

good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake. BOOK.
XVIII.

PENN's humanity could not be confined to the savages only ; it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those two first principles of public splendour and private felicity, liberty and property. If it were allowed to borrow the language of fable, with respect to an account that seems to be fabulous, we should say, that Astræa, who had been gone up into heaven for so long a time, was now come down upon earth again, and that the reign of innocence and concord was going to be revived among mankind. The mind of the writer and of his reader dwells with pleasure on this part of modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America, inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these barbarians depopulating the country before they took possession of it, and laying every thing waste before they cultivated it. It is time to observe the dawnings of reason, happiness, and humanity, rising from among the ruins of a hemisphere, which still reeks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as savage.

THE virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every man who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every christian eligible to state employments.

B O K
XVIII

But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper, and neither established a reigning church in Pennsylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worship, nor compelled any persons to attend them.

PENN, attached to his name, was desirous that the property of the settlement which he had formed should remain in perpetuity to his family; but he deprived them of any decisive influence in the public resolutions, and ordained, that they should not exercise any act of authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an interest in the law, by having one in the object of it, were to be electors, and might be chosen. To avoid as much as possible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the representatives should be chosen by suffrages privately given. To establish a law, a plurality of voices was sufficient; but a majority of two-thirds was necessary to settle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a subsidy demanded by government; but was it possible to grant less indulgences to men who were come so far in search of peace?

SUCH was the opinion of that real philosopher Penn. He gave a thousand acres to all those who could afford to pay 450 livres * for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himself, his wife, each of his children above sixteen years old, and each of his servants, fifty acres of land, for the

* 18l. 15s.

annual quit-rent of one sol ten deniers and a half * per acre. Fifty acres were also given to every citizen who, when he was of age, consented to pay an annual tribute of two livres five sols †.

To fix these properties for ever, he established tribunals to maintain the laws made for the preservation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands to make those who are in possession of them purchase the decree of justice that secures them: for in that case every individual is obliged to part with some of his property, in order to secure the rest; and law, when protracted, exhausts the very treasures it should preserve and the property it should defend. Lest any persons should be found whose interest it might be to encourage or prolong law-suits, he forbade under very strict penalties all those who were engaged in the administration of justice, to receive any salary or gratuity whatsoever. And further, every district was obliged to chuse three arbitrators, whose business it was to endeavour to prevent, and accommodate, any disputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of justice.

THIS attention to prevent law-suits sprang from the desire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to punish, were calculated to put a stop to them even in their very sources, poverty and idleness. It was enacted that every child above twelve years old, should be obliged to learn a profession, let his condition be

* About one penny.

† 1s. 10½d.

BOOK
XVIII.

what it would. This regulation, at the same time that it secured the poor man a subsistence, furnished the rich man with a resource against every reverse of fortune, preserved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original destination, which is that of labour, either of the mind or of the body.

VIRTUE had never perhaps inspired a legislation better calculated to promote the felicity of mankind. The opinions, the sentiments, and the morals corrected whatever might be defective in it, and remedied any part of it that might be imperfect. Accordingly, the prosperity of Pennsylvania was very rapid. This republic, without either wars, conquests, struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, soon excited the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of its manners; and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to see those heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous.

Prosperity
of Pennsylv-
vania.

PENNSYLVANIA is defended on the east by the ocean, on the north by New-York and New-Jersey, on the south by Virginia and Maryland, on the west by the Indians; on all sides by friends, and within itself by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coasts, which are at first very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles, and the breadth

breadth of it, which has no other limits than its population and culture, already comprehends BOOK
XVIII.
145 miles.

PENNSYLVANIA PROPER is divided into eleven counties; Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, Northampton, Bedford, Northumberland, and Westmoreland.

IN the same region, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex, form a distinct government, but are regulated on the same principles.

THE sky of the colony is pure and serene, and the climate, naturally very wholesome, has been rendered still more so by cultivation; the waters, equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or sand: and the year is tempered by the regular return of the seasons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, lasts till the end of March. As it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally speaking, moderate; sometimes, however, sharp enough to freeze the largest rivers in a night's time. This change, which is as short as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains and a gentle heat, which increases gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be insupportable, were it not for the refreshing breezes of the south-west wind, which afford almost a constant relief.

THOUGH the country be unequal, it is not on that account less fertile. The soil in some places

BOOK
XVIII.

consists of a yellow and black sand, in others it is gravelly, and sometimes it is a greyish ash-colour upon a stony bottom; generally speaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which intersecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

WHEN the Europeans first came into the country, they found nothing but wood for building, and iron mines. In process of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, a great variety of fruits, plantations of flax and hemp, many kinds of vegetables, every sort of grain, and especially wheat and maize; which a happy experience had shewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with such vigour and success as excited the astonishment of all nations.

FROM whence could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that civil and religious liberty which has attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans, into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptists, members of the Church of England, Methodists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans, and Catholics.

AMONG the numerous sects which abound in this country, a very distinguished one is that of the Dumplers. It was founded by a German, who, weary of the world, retired to an agreeable solitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himself up to contemplation.

temptation. Curiosity brought several of his countrymen to visit his retreat, and by degrees his pious, simple, and peaceable manners induced them to settle near him, and they all formed a little colony which they called Euphrates, in allusion to the Hebrews, who used to sing psalms on the borders of that river.

B O O K
XVIII.

THIS little city forms a triangle, the outsides of which are bordered with mulberry and apple-trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard, and between the orchard and these ranges of trees are houses, built of wood, three stories high, where every Dumper is left to enjoy the pleasures of his meditations without disturbance. These contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of stagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

THE men and women live in separate quarters of the city. They never see each other but at places of worship, nor are there any assemblies of any kind but for public business. Their life is spent in labour, prayer, and sleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells to attend divine service. Like the Methodists and Quakers, every individual among them has the right of preaching when he thinks himself inspired. The favourite subjects on which they discourse in their assemblies, are humility, temperance, chastity, and the other christian virtues. They never violate that day of repose, which all

B O O K
XVIII.

orders of men, whether idle or laborious, much delight in. They admit a hell and a paradise; but reject the eternity of future punishments. They abhor the doctrine of original sin as an impious blasphemy, and in general every tenet that is severe to man appears to them injurious to the divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they only administer baptism to the adult. At the same time they think baptism so essentially necessary to salvation, that they imagine the souls of christians in another world are employed in converting those who have not died under the law of the gospel.

STILL more disinterested than the Quakers, they never allow themselves any law-suits. One may cheat, rob, and abuse them without ever being exposed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the same effect on them that philosophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them insensible to every kind of insult.

NOTHING can be plainer than their dress. In winter, it is a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood, which serves instead of a hat, a coarse shirt, thick shoes, and very wide breeches. The only difference in summer is, that linen is used instead of woollen. The women are dressed much like the men, except that they have no breeches.

THEIR common food consists wholly of vegetables, not because it is unlawful to eat any other, but because that kind of abstinence is looked upon

as

as more conformable to the spirit of Christianity, which has an aversion for blood.

B O O K
XVIII.

EACH individual follows with cheerfulness the branch of business allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is deposited in a common stock, in order to supply the necessities of every one. This union of industry has not only established agriculture, manufactures, and all the arts necessary for the support of this little society, but hath also supplied, for the purposes of exchange, superfluities proportioned to the degree of its population.

THOUGH the two sexes live separate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account foolishly renounce matrimony: but those who find themselves disposed to it leave the city, and form an establishment in the country, which is supported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treasury, and their children are sent to be educated in the mother-country. Without this wise privilege, the Dumplers would be no better than monks, and in process of time would become either savages or libertines.

THE most edifying, and at the same time the most extraordinary circumstance, is the harmony that subsists between all the sects established in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions. Though not all of the same church, they all love and cherish one another as children of the same father. They have always continued to live like brethren, because they had the liberty of thinking as men. To this
delightful

B O O K delightful harmony must be attributed more particularly the rapid progress of the colony.
XVIII.

At the beginning of the year 1774, the population of this settlement amounted to three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, according to the calculations of the general congress. It must however be acknowledged, that thirty thousand Negroes made part of this numerous population; but truth also requires us to say, that slavery, in this province, hath not been a source of corruption, as it hath always been, and always will be, in societies that are not so well regulated. The manners are still pure, and even austere, in Pennsylvania. Is this singular advantage to be ascribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation constantly subsisting between the different sects, or to some other particular cause? Let the reader determine this question.

THE Pennsylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they sooner become mothers than in Europe, they sooner cease breeding. If the heat of the climate seems on the one hand to hasten the operations of nature, its inconstancy weakens them on the other. There is no place where the temperature of the sky is more uncertain, for it sometimes changes five or six times in the same day.

As, however, these varieties have neither any dangerous influence upon animals, nor even upon vegetables, and as they do not destroy the harvests, there is a constant plenty, and an universal appearance of easy circumstances. The œconomy which is so particularly attended to in Pennsylvania,

sylvania, does not prevent both sexes from being well clothed; and their food is still preferable in its kind to their clothing. The families whose circumstances are the least easy, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum. A very great number are able to afford to drink constantly French and Spanish wines, punch, and even liquors of a higher price. The abuse of these strong drinks is less frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

BOOK
XVIII.

THE pleasing view of this abundance is never disturbed by the melancholy appearance of poverty. There are no poor in all Pennsylvania. All those whose birth or fortune have left them without resources, are suitably provided for out of the public treasury. The spirit of benevolence is carried still further, and is extended even to the most engaging hospitality. A traveller is welcome to stop in any place, without the apprehensions of giving the least uneasy sensation, except that of regret for his departure.

THE happiness of the colony is not disturbed by the oppressive burden of taxes. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 280,140 livres *. Most of them, even those that were designed to repair the damages of war, were to cease in 1772. If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owing to the irruptions of the savages, which had occasioned extraordinary expences. This trifling inconvenience would not have been attended to, if Penn's family could

BOOK
XVIII.

have been prevailed upon to contribute to the public expences, in proportion to the revenue they obtained from the province: a circumstance required by the inhabitants, and which in equity they ought to have complied with.

THE Pennsylvanians, happy possessors, and peaceable tenants, of a country that usually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not restrained by fear from the propagation of their species. There is hardly an unmarried person to be met with in the country. Marriage is the more happy and the more revered for it; the freedom as well as the sanctity of it depends upon the choice of the parties: they chuse the lawyer and the priest rather as witnesses, than as the means to cement their engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any opposition, the go off on horseback together, the man gets behind his mistress, and in this situation they present themselves before the magistrate, where the girl declares she has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So solemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any person a right to give them any molestation. In all other cases, paternal authority is excessive. The head of a family, whose affairs are involved, is allowed to sell his children to his creditors; a punishment one should imagine very sufficient to induce an affectionate father to attend to his affairs. An adult discharges in one year's service a debt of 112 livres 10 sols*; children under twelve years of

* 4l. 13s. 9d.

age are obliged to serve till they are one and twenty, in order to pay off the same sum. This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the East.

B O O K
XVIII.

THOUGH there be several villages, and even some cities in the colony, most of the inhabitants may be said to live separately, as it were, within their families. Every proprietor of land has his house in the midst of a large plantation, entirely surrounded with quickset hedges. Of course each parish is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This distance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect, and still less influence. Children are not baptised till a few months, and sometimes not till a year or two after their birth.

ALL the pomp of religion seems to be reserved for the last honours man receives before he is shut up in the grave for ever. As soon as any person is dead in the country, the nearest neighbours have notice given them of the day of the burial. These spread it in the habitations next to theirs, and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a distance. Every family sends at least one person to attend the funeral. As they come in, they are presented with punch and cake. When the assembly is complete, the corpse is carried to the burying-ground belonging to his sect, or if that should be at too great a distance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred persons on horseback, who observe a continual silence, and have all the external appearance suitable to the melan-

BOOK
XVIII.

melancholy nature of the ceremony. One singular circumstance is, that the Pennsylvanians, who are the greatest enemies to parade during their lives, seem to forget this character of modesty at their deaths. They are all desirous that the poor remains of their short lives should be attended with a funeral pomp proportioned to their rank or fortune. It is a general observation, that plain and virtuous people, even those that are savage and poor, pay great attention to the ordering of their funerals. The reason is, that they look upon these last honours as duties of the survivors, and the duties themselves as so many distinct proofs of that principle of love which is very strong in private families while they are in a state nearest to that of nature. It is not the dying man himself who exacts these honours; his parents, his wife, his children, voluntarily pay them to the ashes of a husband and father that has deserved to be lamented. These ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in small societies than in larger ones, because though there are fewer families upon the whole, the number of individuals there is much larger, and all the ties that connect them with each other are much stronger. This kind of intimate union has been the reason why so many small nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes and the Persians out of Greece, and it will some time or other expel the French from Corsica.

BUT from whence does Pennsylvania get the articles necessary for her own consumption, and in what manner does she contrive to be abundantly furnished

furnished with them? With the flax and hemp that is produced at home, and the cotton she procures from South America, she fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe she manufactures many coarse cloths. Whatever her own industry is not able to furnish, she purchases with the produce of her territory. Her ships carry over to the English, French, Dutch, and Danish islands, biscuit, flour, butter, cheese, tallow, vegetables, fruits, salt meat, cyder, beer, and all sorts of wood for building. The cotton, sugar, coffee, brandy, and money received in exchange, are so many materials for a fresh commerce with the mother-country, and with other European nations as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain and Portugal, open an advantageous market for the corn and wood of Pennsylvania, which they purchase with wine and piastres. The mother-country receives from Pennsylvania, iron, flax, leather, furs, linseed, masts and yards, for which it returns thread, fine cloths, tea, Irish and India linens, hardware, and other articles of luxury or necessity. But all these branches of trade have been hitherto prejudicial to the colony, though it can neither be censured nor commiserated on this account. Whatever measures may be adopted, it is unavoidably necessary that rising states should contract debts; and the one we are now speaking of will remain in debt as long as the clearing of the lands requires greater expences than the produce will enable it to answer. Other colonies, which enjoy almost ex-

clusively

clusively some branches of trade, such as rice, tobacco, and indigo, must have grown rich very rapidly. Pennsylvania, the riches of which are founded on agriculture and the increase of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her prosperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent basis.

IF any circumstance can retard the progress of the colony, it must be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiscriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid 112 livres 10 sols * for each hundred acres, and that the purchasers agree to give an annual rent of 22 sols 6 deniers †. The consequence of this is, that the province wants that sort of connection which is so necessary in all establishments, and that the scattered inhabitants easily become the prey of the most insignificant enemy that ventures to attack them.

THERE are different ways of clearing the lands which are followed in the colony. Sometimes a huntsman will settle in the midst of a forest, or quite close to it. His nearest neighbours assist him in cutting down trees, and placing them one above another: and this constitutes a house. Around this spot he cultivates, without any assistance, a garden or a field, sufficient to subsist himself and his family.

A FEW years after the first labours are finished, some more active or richer men arrive from the

* 4l. 13s. 9d. † 18s. 4½d.

mother-country. They indemnify the huntsman ^{BOOK} for his labour, and agree with the proprietors of ^{XVIII.} the provinces for some lands that have not yet been paid for. They build more commodious habitations, and clear a greater extent of territory.

At length some Germans, who come into the New World from inclination, or are driven into it by persecution, complete these settlements that are as yet unfinished. The first and second order of planters remove into other parts, with a more considerable stock for carrying on agriculture than they had at first.

IN 1767, the exports of Pennsylvania amounted to 13,164,439 livres 5 sols 3 deniers*; and they have since increased much more considerably in that colony than in any other.

PHILADELPHIA, or *the city of Brothers*, is the ^{Present State of Philadelphia.} centre of this great trade. This famous city is situated at the conflux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, at the distance of 120 miles from the sea. Penn, who destined it for the metropolis of a great empire, designed it to be one mile in breadth and two in length between the rivers; but its population has proved insufficient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto the banks of the Delaware are only built upon; but without giving up the ideas of the legislator, or deviating from his plan. These precautions are highly proper. Philadelphia must become the most considerable city of America, because the colony

* About 548,518 l. 6 s. 3 d.

BOOK

XVIII.

must necessarily improve greatly, and its productions must pass through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the sea.

THE streets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are from fifty to a hundred feet broad. On each side of them there are foot-paths defended by posts, placed at different distances.

THE houses, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly three stories high, and are built of brick. The present buildings have received an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this, tables, chimney-pieces, and other household furniture, are made; besides which, it is become rather a considerable article of commerce with the greatest part of America.

THESE valuable materials could not have been found in common in the houses, unless they had been lavished in the churches. Every sect has its own church, and some of them have several. But there are a number of citizens, who have neither churches, priests, nor any public form of worship, and who are still happy, humane, and virtuous.

THE town-house is a building holden in as much veneration, though not so much frequented, as the churches. It is constructed with the greatest magnificence. There the legislators of the colony assemble every year, and more frequently if necessary, to settle every thing relative to public business. These men of trust are here supplied with every publication that may give them any

I

inform-

information respecting government, trade, and administration. Next to the town-house is a most elegant library, formed in 1732, under the care of the learned Dr. Franklin, and consisting of the best English, with several French and Latin authors. It is only open to the public on Saturdays. The founders have free access to it at all times. Others pay a trifle for the loan of the books, and a forfeit if they be not returned at a stated time. This little fund, which is constantly accumulating, is appropriated to the increase of the library, to which have been lately added, in order to make it more useful, some mathematical and philosophical instruments, with a very fine cabinet of natural history.

Nor far from this there is another monument of the same nature. This consists of a fine collection of Greek and Latin classics, with their most esteemed commentators, and of the best performances that have graced the modern languages. This library was bequeathed to the public, in 1752, by the learned and generous citizen Logan, who had spent a long and laborious life in collecting it.

THE college, which is intended to prepare the mind for the attainment of all the sciences, owed its rise, in 1749, to the labours of Dr. Franklin, whose name stands always recorded among the great or useful things, accomplished in this country which gave him birth. At first, it only initiated the youth in the belles lettres; but medicine, chymistry, botany, and natural philosophy, have been since taught there. Knowledge of

BOOK
XVIII.

every kind, and masters in every science, will increase, in proportion as the lands, which are become their patrimony, shall yield a greater produce. If ever despotism, superstition, or war, should plunge Europe again into that state of barbarism out of which philosophy and the arts have extricated it, the sacred fire will be kept alive in Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten the world.

THIS city is amply supplied with every assistance human nature can require, and with all the resources industry can make use of. Its quays, the principal of which is two hundred feet wide, present a suite of convenient warehouses, and docks ingeniously contrived for ship-building. Ships of five hundred tons may land there without any difficulty, except in times of frost. There, is taken on board the merchandise which has either been brought by the rivers Schuylkill and Delaware, or carried along better roads than are to be met with in most parts of Europe. Police has made a greater progress in this part of the New World, than among the most ancient nations of the Old.

It is impossible to determine precisely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactness, and there are several sects who do not christen their children. It appears, however, that in 1766 it contained 20,000 inhabitants. As most of them are employed in the sale of the productions of the colony, and in supplying it with what they draw from abroad, their fortunes must necessarily be very considerable;

able; and they must increase still further, in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where not above one-sixth of the land has hitherto been cleared.

PHILADELPHIA, as well as the other cities of Pennsylvania, is entirely open. The whole country is equally without defence. This is a necessary consequence of the principles of the Quakers. These sectaries cannot be too much favoured, on account of their modesty, probity, love of labour, and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to accuse their legislation of imprudence and tenderness.

It may, perhaps, be said, that when the founders of the colony established that civil security which protects one citizen from another, they should also have established that political security, which protects one state from the incroachments of another. The authority which hath been exerted to maintain peace and good order at home, seems to have done nothing, if it has not prevented invasion from abroad. To pretend that the colony would never have enemies, was to suppose the world peopled with Quakers. It was encouraging the strong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and submitting the whole country to the oppressive yoke of the first tyrant who should think proper to subdue it.

BUT on the other hand, how shall we reconcile the strictness of the gospel maxims, by which the Quakers are literally governed, with those military preparations, either offensive or defensive, which maintain a continual state of war between all

BOOK
XVIII.

Christian nations? Besides, what could the enemy do, if they were to enter Pennsylvania sword in hand? Unless they massacred, in the space of a night or a day's time, all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able totally to extirpate the race of those mild and charitable men. Violence has its boundaries in its very excess; it is consumed and extinguished, as the fire in the ashes that feed it. But virtue, when guided by humanity and by the spirit of benevolence, is revived as the tree under the edge of the pruning-knife. The wicked stand in need of numbers to execute their sanguinary projects. But the Quaker, who is a good man, wants only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give assistance. Let then the warlike nations, let people who are either slaves or tyrants, go into Pennsylvania; there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their disposal; not a single soldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if these inhabitants be tormented, restrained, or oppressed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures destroyed, and their warehouses empty. They will cultivate, and spread population in some new land; they will go round the world rather than turn their arms against their pursuers, or submit to bear their yoke. Their enemies will have only gained the hatred of mankind, and the execration of posterity.

MAY I not be deceived in what I have advanced; and may I not have mistaken the wishes of my heart for a decree of truth! I am distressed

distressed even at the bare suspicion. (Fortunate ^{B.O.O.K}
 and wise country!, art thou then one day to ex- ^{XVIII}
 perience the fatal destiny of other countries? art
 thou to be ravaged and subdued as they have
 been? Far be it from me to entertain a preface
 that might tend to invalidate, in my mind, the
 most comfortable of all ideas; that there exists a
 providence who watches over the preservation of
 the good! Nor let the numerous events which
 seem to depose the contrary have any influence
 over me!

It is upon this prospect that the Pennsylvanians
 have founded their opinion of their future secu-
 rity. Besides, as they do not perceive that the
 most warlike states are the most permanent; that
 mistrust, which is ever upon its guard, makes
 men rest with greater tranquillity, or that there
 can be any satisfaction in the possession of any
 thing that is kept with such apprehensions; they
 enjoy the present moment without any concern
 for the future. The people of Maryland are of
 a different opinion.

CHARLES the First, far from having any aver-
 sion for the Catholics, as his predecessors, had
 some reason to protect them, from the zeal which,
 in hopes of being tolerated, they had shewn for
 his interest. But when the accusation of being
 favourable to popery had alienated the minds of
 the people from that weak prince, whose chief
 aim was to establish a despotic government, he
 was obliged to give the Catholics up to the rigour
 of the laws enacted against them by Henry the
 Eighth. These circumstances induced Lord Bal-

Origin of
 Maryland.
 Nature of
 its govern-
 ment.

BOOK
XVIII.

timore to seek an asylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conscience. As he found there no toleration for an exclusive system of faith, which was itself intolerant, he formed the design of a new settlement in that uninhabited part of the country, which lay between the river of Potowmack and Pennsylvania. His death, which happened soon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a stop to the project for that time; but it was resumed, from the same religious motives, by his son. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman Catholics, most of them of good families. The education they had received, the cause of religion for which they had left their country, and the fortune which their leader promised them, prevented those disturbances which are but too common in infant settlements. The neighbouring savages, won by mildness and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerness to assist the new colonists in forming their settlement. With this unexpected help, these fortunate persons, attached to each other by the same principles of religion, and directed by the prudent counsels of their chief, applied themselves unanimously to every kind of useful labour: the view of the peace and happiness they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were either persecuted for the same religion, or for different opinions. The Catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themselves had been the victims, after having first set the example of them, and

and opened the doors of their colony to all sects, of what religious principles soever. They all enjoyed the rights of a city in the same extent; and the government was modelled upon that of the mother-country.

BOOK
XVIII.

THESE wise precautions, however, did not secure Baltimore, at the time of the subversion of the monarchy, from losing all the concessions he had obtained. Deprived of his possessions by Cromwell, he was restored to them by Charles the Second; after which they were again disputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-administration; and though he was extremely zealous for the Tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the interests of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James II. and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the jurisdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himself had formed at his own expence. This prince, whose misfortune it had always been not to distinguish his friends from his foes, and who had also the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was sufficient to justify every act of violence, was preparing a second time to deprive Baltimore of what had been given him by the two kings, his father and brother, when he was himself removed from the throne which he was so unfit to fill. The successor of this weak despotic prince terminated this contest, which had arisen before his accession to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character;

BOOK
XVII

character: he left the Baltimores, in possession of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority. When this family, who were more regardless of the prejudices of religion, became members of the church of England, they were reinstated in the hereditary government of Maryland; they began again to conduct the colony, assisted by a council, and two deputies chosen by each district.

Events
which have
happened at
Maryland.

FORTUNATELY for itself, Maryland hath been less fruitful in events than any other settlement formed in the northern continent. There are only two facts, worthy of being recorded in its history.

BERKLEY, extravagantly zealous for the church of England, expelled from Virginia those among its inhabitants who did not profess this mode of worship; and they were obliged to seek an asylum in the province we are now speaking of. The Virginians were highly incensed at the favourable reception which these people met with; and in the first rage of an unjust resentment, they persuaded the savages that their new neighbours were Spaniards. This odious name entirely changed the sentiments of the Indians; and, without deliberation, they ravaged the grounds which they had assisted in clearing; and massacred, without mercy, those very men whom they had just received in a brotherly manner. It required a great deal of time, and patience, and many sacrifices, before these prejudiced minds could be convinced of their mistake.

BALTIMORE;

BALTIMORE, attending more to his reason than BOOK
XVIII.
to the prejudices of education, granted an equal share in the government to every different professor of Christianity. The Catholics were excluded from it, at the memorable period when this nobleman was deprived of his authority. The British ministry either could not, or would not put a stop to this act of fanaticism. It exerted its influence only in preventing the founders of the colony from being driven out of it, and the penal laws, which were not even attended to in England, from being enforced.

THE province is very well watered. A number of springs are found in it, and it is intersected by five navigable rivers. The air, which is much too damp upon the coasts, becomes pure, light, and thin, in proportion as the soil becomes more elevated. Spring and autumn are most agreeably temperate; but in the winter there are some exceedingly cold days; and in summer, some in which the heat is very troublesome. The circumstance, however, which is the least supportable in this country, is the great quantity of disgusting insects that are found there.

Present State
of Mary-
land. Its
cultures.

MARYLAND is one of the smallest provinces of North America: and accordingly, grants have been made of almost all the territory, both in the plains and upon the mountains. They remained for a long time either fallow, or very ill cultivated; but the labours have increased, since the population, according to the calculation of congress, hath amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants.

SEVERAL

R.O.O.K.
XVIII.

SEVERAL of these are Catholics; and a great many more are Germans. Their manners have more mildness than energy; and this may arise from the women not being excluded from society, as in most of the other parts of the continent. The men who are free, and not very rich, who are settled upon the high grounds, and who originally bred no flocks, cut no wood, and cultivated no corn, but for the use of the colony, have gradually furnished a great quantity of these articles to the West Indies. The prosperity, however, of the colony, hath been more particularly owen to the slaves employed at a greater or less distance from the sea, in the plantations of tobacco.

THIS is a sharp caustic plant; formerly much used, as it still is, sometimes in medicine, which, if taken inwardly, in substance, is a real poison, more or less active, according to the dose. It is chewed, smoked in the leaves, and is in more general use as snuff.

It was discovered in the year 1520, near Tabasco, in the Gulph of Mexico, from whence it was carried to the neighbouring islands. It was soon after introduced in our climates, where the use of it became a matter of dispute among the learned, which even the ignorant took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired celebrity. By degrees fashion and custom have greatly extended its consumption in all parts of the known world.

THE stem of this plant is straight, hairy, and viscid. It is three or four feet high. Its leaves,

leaves, equally downy, and disposed alternately on the stem, are thick, pulpy, of a pale green, broad, oval, terminating in a point, and much larger at the foot than at the summit of the plant. This summit branches out into clusters of flowers of a light purple hue. Their tubular calix, which hath five indentations, incloses a corolla, lengthened out in form of a funnel, spread out at the top, divided into five parts, and furnished with as many stamina. The pistil, concealed at the bottom of the flower, and terminated by a single style, becomes, as it ripens, a capsula, with two cavities filled with small seeds.

B O O K
XVIII.

TOBACCO requires a moderately binding soil, but rich, even, deep, and not too much exposed to inundations. A virgin soil is very proper for this plant, which absorbs a great deal of moisture.

THE seeds of the tobacco are sown upon beds. When it is grown to the height of two inches, and hath got at least half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and transplanted, with great care, into a well-prepared soil, where the plants are placed at the distance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with these precautions, their leaves do not suffer the least injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four-and-twenty hours.

THE cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which grow round it must be plucked up; the top of it must be cut off, when

BOOK
XVIII.

when it is two feet and a half from the ground, to prevent it from growing too high; it must be stripped of all sprouting suckers; the leaves which grow too near the bottom of the stem, those that are in the least inclined to decay, and those which the insects have touched, must all be taken off, and their number reduced to eight or ten at most. One industrious man is able to take care of two thousand six hundred plants, which ought to yield one thousand weight of tobacco.

The plant is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleasant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are also curved, the scent of them grows stronger, and extends to a distance. The plant is then ripe, and must be cut up.

The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the ground that produced them; where they are left to exude only for one night. The next day they are laid in warehouses, constructed in such a manner that the air may have free access to them on all sides. Here they are left separately suspended as long a time as is necessary to dry them properly. They are then spread upon hurdles, and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At last they are stripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different tastes of the several nations

nations that use it, have nothing to do with its cultivation. BOOK
XVIII.

THE inhabitants of the East Indies, and of Africa, cultivate tobacco only for their own use. They neither sell nor purchase any.

SALONICA is the great mart for tobacco in the Levant. Syria, the Morea, or the Peloponnesus, and Egypt, send there all their superfluous quantity. From this port it is sent to Italy, where it is smoked, after it hath been mixed with the tobacco of Dalmatia and Croatia, to soften its caustic quality.

THE tobacco of these two last provinces is of a very excellent kind: but it is so strong, that it cannot be used till mixed with a milder sort.

THE tobacco of Hungary would be tolerably good, if it had not generally a smell of smoke which is very disgusting.

THE Ukraine, Livonia, Prussia, and Pomerania, cultivate a tolerably large quantity of this production. Its leaves are wider than they are long, are very thin, and have neither flavour nor consistence. In order to improve it, the court of Russia hath caused some tobacco seeds, brought from Virginia and from Hamersfort, to be sown in their colonies of Sarratow, upon the Volga; but this experiment hath been attended with little or no success.

THE tobacco of the Palatinate is very indifferent; but it hath the property of mixing with a better kind, and of acquiring its flavour.

HOLLAND also furnishes tobacco. That which is produced in the province of Urrecht, from Hamers-

BOOK
XVIII.

Hamersfort, and from four or five neighbouring districts, is of a superior quality. Its leaves are large, supple, oily, and of a good colour. It hath the uncommon advantage of communicating its delicious perfume to tobacco of an inferior quality. There is a great deal of this latter sort upon the territories of the Republic; but the species which grows in Guelderland is the worst of any.

TOBACCO was formerly cultivated in France, and with more success than any where else, near Pont de l'Arche in Normandy; at Verton in Picardy; and at Montauban, Tonneins, and Cleral, in Guyenne. It was prohibited in 1721, except upon some frontier towns, whose original terms of capitulation it was not thought proper to infringe. Hainault, Artois, and Franche Compté, profited very little from a liberty which the nature of their soil did not allow them to make use of. It has been more useful to Flanders and Alsace; for their tobaccos, though very weak, may be mixed, without inconvenience, with others of a superior kind.

In the beginning, the islands of the New World attended to the culture of tobacco; but it was successively succeeded by richer productions in them all, except at Cuba, which supplies all the snuff consumed by the Spaniards of both hemispheres. Its perfume is exquisite, but too strong. The same crown derives from Caraccas the tobacco which is smoked by its subjects in Europe. It is likewise used in the North, and in Holland, because there is none to be found any
where

where to be compared with it, for this purpose.

B O O K
XVIII.

THE Brazils cultivated this production very early, and have not since disdained it. They have been encouraged in this pursuit, by the constant repute which their tobacco hath enjoyed upon the western coasts of Africa. Even in our climates, it is in tolerable request among persons who smoke. It could not be taken in snuff, on account of its acrimony; without the preparations which it undergoes. These preparations consist in soaking every leaf in a decoction of tobacco, and of gum copal. These leaves, thus steeped, are formed into rolls, and wrapped up in the skin of an ox, which keeps up their moisture.

BUT the best tobaccos upon the face of the earth grow in the North of America; and in that part of the New World, the tobacco gathered at Maryland is of the second sort. This plant has not, however, an equal degree of perfection throughout the whole extent of the colonies. That of the growth of Chester and of Chouptan, resembles the Virginia tobacco in quality, and is consumed in France. That which grows in Patapsco and Potuxant, which is very fit for smoking, is consumed in the North, and in Holland. Upon the northern shores of the Potowmack, the tobacco is excellent in the higher parts, and of moderate quality in the lower ones.

SAINT MARY, formerly the capital of the state, is of no consequence at present; and Annapolis,

Vol. VII.

Y

which

BOOK
XVIII.

which now enjoys this prerogative, is scarce more considerable. It is at Baltimore that almost all the business is transacted, the harbour of which can receive ships that draw seventeen feet of water. These three towns, the only ones which are in the colony, are situated upon the bay of Chesapeake, which runs two hundred and fifty miles up the country, and the mean breadth of which is twelve miles. There are two capes at its entrance; and in the middle is a sand bank. The channel which is near Cape Charles can admit none but very small vessels; while that which runs along-side Cape Henry admits the largest ships at any season of the year.

What Maryland may become.

Few of the lands between the Apalachian mountains and the sea, are so good as those of Maryland. These, however, are in general too light, sandy, and shallow, to reward the planter for his labour and expences, in as short a time as in our climates. Fertility, which always attends the first clearing of the soil, is rapidly followed by an extraordinary decrease in the quantity and quality of the corn. The soil is still sooner exhausted by the culture of tobacco. This leaf loses much of its strength, whenever the same spot hath yielded, without intermission, a few crops of tobacco. For this reason, inspectors were created in 1733, who were empowered to cause all the tobacco to be burnt which had not the proper flavour. This was a prudent institution; but it seems to foretell, that the most important production of the province must one day be

be given up, or that it will insensibly be reduced to very little.

B O O K
XVIII.

THEN, or perhaps before, the iron mines, which are in great abundance in the colony, will be worked. This is a source of prosperity which hath not hitherto been carried beyond the use of seventeen or eighteen forges. A greater degree of liberty, and new wants, will communicate more strength and more activity to the colonists.

OTHER manufactures will also undoubtedly arise. Maryland had never any of any kind. It received from Great Britain all the articles it wanted for the most ordinary purposes of life. This was one of the reasons which occasioned its being burthened with debts. Mr. Stirenwith hath at length established manufactures for stockings, for silk, woollen, and cotton stuffs, and for all kinds of hardware, even fire-arms. These branches of industry, at present united in one manufacture, at a considerable expence, and with extraordinary sagacity, will be more or less rapidly dispersed throughout the province; and, crossing the Potowmack will be likewise adopted at Virginia.

THIS other colony, with the same kind of soil and of climate as Maryland, hath a few advantages over the latter. Its extent is much more considerable. Its rivers can admit larger ships, and allow them a longer navigation. Its inhabitants have a more elevated turn of mind; have more resolution, and are more enterprising: this

In what
manner Vir-
ginia was
established,
and by
whom.

BOOK
XVIII.

may be attributed to their being generally of English extraction.

VIRGINIA was, about two centuries ago, the only country which England intended to occupy on the continent of North America. This name doth not at present belong to any thing more than the space which is bounded by Maryland on one side, and by Carolina on the other.

THE English landed upon these savage shores in 1606, and their first settlement was James Town. Unfortunately, the object that first presented itself to them, was a rivulet, which, issuing from a sand-bank, carried along with it a quantity of talc, which glittered at the bottom of a clear and running water. In an age when gold and silver were the only objects of men's researches, this despicable substance was immediately taken for silver. The first and only employment of the new colonists was to collect it; and the illusion was carried so far, that two ships, which arrived there with necessaries, were sent home so fully freighted with these imaginary riches, that there scarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as this infatuation lasted, the colonists disdained to employ themselves in clearing the lands; so that a dreadful famine was at length the consequence of this foolish pride. Sixty men only remained alive out of five hundred who had been sent from Europe. These unfortunate few, having only a fortnight's provision left, were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland, when Lord Delaware arrived there

there with three ships, a fresh colony, and supplies of all kinds.

BOOK
XVIII.

HISTORY has described this nobleman to us as a man whose genius raised him above the common prejudices of the times. His disinterestedness was equal to his knowledge. In accepting the government of the colony, which was still in its infancy, he had no motive but to gratify the inclination a virtuous mind has to do good, and to secure the esteem of posterity, which is the second reward of that generosity that devotes itself totally to the service of the public. As soon as he appeared, the knowledge of his character procured him universal respect. He first endeavoured to reconcile the wretched colonists to their fatal country, to comfort them in their sufferings, and to make them hope for a speedy conclusion of them. After this, joining the firmness of an enlightened magistrate to the tenderness of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an useful end. Unfortunately for the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health soon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never lost sight of his favourite colonists, nor ever failed to make use of all his credit and interest at court to support them.

THE colony, however, made but little progress, a circumstance that was attributed to the oppression of exclusive privileges. The company which exercised them was dissolved upon Charles the First's accession to the throne. Before that period, all the authority had been entirely in the hands of the monopoly. Virginia then came under the

BOOK
XVIII.

immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of two livres five sols * upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

TILL this time the colonists had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himself in the place he liked best, without consulting any titles or agreements. At length boundaries were ascertained, and those who had been so long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The establishment of this first law of society changed the appearance of every thing. Fresh plantations arose on all sides. This activity drew great numbers of enterprising men over to Virginia, who came either in search of fortune, or of liberty, which is the only compensation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the constitution of England, added to these a multitude of Royalists, who went there with a resolution to wait, with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was also attached to king Charles, the fate of that deserted monarch. Berkley still continued to protect them, even after the king's death; but some of the inhabitants, either brought over or bribed, and supported by the appearance of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony to the Protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the stream against his will, he was, at least, among those whom Charles had honoured with posts of con-

fidence and rank, the last who submitted to Cromwell, and the first who shook off his yoke. BOOK
XVIII.

This brave man was sinking under the oppression of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his successor's death had left vacant; but far from yielding to these flattering solicitations, he declared that he never would serve any but the legitimate heir of the dethroned monarch. Such an example of magnanimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the restoration of the royal family, made such an impression upon the minds of the people, that Charles the Second was proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

THE colony did not, however, receive from so generous a step all the benefit that might have been expected. The new monarch, either from weakness or corruption, granted to rapacious courtiers immense territories, which absorbed the possessions of a great number of obscure citizens. The act of navigation, suggested by the Protector for the purpose of securing to the mother-country the supplying of all their settlements in the New World with provisions, and the exclusive trade of all their productions, was observed with such rigour, as to double almost the value of the articles to be purchased by Virginia, and lessen still more the value of what they had to sell. This double oppression exhausted all the resources, and dispelled all the hopes of the colony; and to complete its misfortunes, the savages attacked it with a degree of spirit and skill which

Obstacles to the prosperity of Virginia.

they had not manifested in any of the preceding wars.

SCARCE had the English landed in these unknown regions, than they had disposed the natives against them by the dishonesty they had practised in their exchanges. This source of discord might have been put a stop to, had the English consented to take Indian wives, as they were solicited to do. But although they had not yet any European women with them, they rejected this connection with disdain. This contempt exasperated the Americans, already alienated by their want of faith, and they became irreconcilable enemies. Their hatred was manifested by secret assassinations, and by public hostilities, and in 1622, by a conspiracy, in which three hundred and thirty-four people lost their lives, and which would even have destroyed the whole colony, had not the commanders been apprized of the danger a few hours before the time appointed for a general massacre.

SINCE this act of treachery, many atrocious ones have been committed on both sides. Truces between the two nations were unfrequent, and ill observed. The rupture was usually begun by the English. The less profit they drew from their plantations, the more artifice and force did they employ to deprive the savages of their furs. This insatiable avidity, which indiscriminately seized upon all the inhabitants, whether settled or wandering, in the neighbourhood of the colony, made the Americans again take up arms towards the end of the year 1675. They all, by agreement,

ment, fell upon the settlements, imprudently dispersed, and at too great a distance to afford each other any assistance. BOOK
XVIII.

SUCH a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to despair. Berkley, who had so long been their idol, was accused of wanting fortitude to resist the oppressions of the mother-country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the savages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence, and intrepidity, of an insinuating disposition, and an agreeable person. They chose him for their general, in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military successes might have justified this prepossession of the licentious multitude, yet this circumstance did not prevent the governor, who, with his remaining partisans, had retired on the borders of the Potowmack, from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A sentence so severe, and which was ill-timed, determined Bacon to assume a power by force, which he had exercised peaceably, and without opposition, for six months. Death put an end to all his projects. The malecontents, disunited by the loss of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to sue for pardon, which was readily granted them. The rebellion, therefore, was attended with no bad consequences, and mercy insured submission.

TRANQUILLITY was no sooner restored, than means were thought of to reconcile the Indians, with whom all intercourse had for some time been

BOOK
XVIII.

at an end. The communications were opened again in the year 1678, by the general assembly; but it was stipulated, that the exchanges should be made in no other markets, except such as were settled by themselves. This innovation displeased the savages, and matters soon returned to their former course.

THE raising of the value of tobacco was a still more important object, as this was the most considerable, and almost the only production of the colony. It was thought that nothing would contribute more effectually to raise it from the state of degradation into which it had fallen, than to refuse the tobaccos which were brought to Virginia from Maryland and from Carolina, and to send them to Europe. If the legislators had been better informed, they would have understood, that this staple must necessarily, sooner or later, draw into their own hands the freight of this commodity, and would make them the arbiters of its price. By sending it away from their ports, through an ill-judged motive of avarice, they drew upon themselves, in all the markets, competitors, who convinced them by dear-bought experience of the error of their principles.

THESE arrangements were scarcely made, before there arrived a new governor to the colony, in the spring of 1679. This was Lord Colepepper. The troubles with which this settlement had been so recently agitated, encouraged him to propose a law, which should condemn to one year's imprisonment, or to a fine of 11,250 livres,

livres *, all those citizens who should speak or write any thing against their governor; and to three months imprisonment, or to a fine of 2250 livres †, those who should speak or write against the members of the council, or against any other magistrate.

BOOK
XVIII.

WAS this governor apprehensive then, that the faults of administration, and the dishonesty of its administrators, should be suspected? In what part of the world would not the same consequences be drawn from the imposing of silence? Is it praise or censure that is feared, when the command for silence is issued? These prohibitions calumniate the government, if it be good, because they tend to persuade that it is not so. But what measures can be adopted to enforce the observance of these prohibitions? Can we be ignorant, that it is the nature of man to attempt those actions, which, by becoming dangerous, have a sense of glory attached to them? To oppress a man, and to prevent him from murmuring and complaining, is an atrocious act of violence against which he never fails to revolt. But how will the government discover those who are rebellious to their orders? This can only be done by spies, by informations, and by all those measures which will certainly divide the citizens, and raise mistrust and hatred among them. Whom will government punish? The most honest and the most generous men, who will never be silent when they are persuaded that it is their duty to

* 468l. 15s.

† 93l. 15s.

B. O. O. K.
XVIII.

speak out. They will certainly bid defiance to
 menaces, or will know how to elude them. If
 they should adopt the first of these resolutions,
 will government dare to imprison them? and if
 it should, would they not soon find persons to
 avenge them? If it should not, they would fall
 into contempt. If these men had been allowed
 to explain themselves with frankness, they would
 have blended dignity and moderation in their re-
 monstrances. Constraint, and the danger of pu-
 nishment, will transform these remonstrances into
 violent, bitter, and seditious libels; and it is
 the tyranny of government that will have ren-
 dered them guilty. Sovereigns, or you who are
 depositaries of their authority, if your adminis-
 tration be a good one, deliver it up to all the seve-
 rity of our examination; it can only insure our
 respect and submission. If it be a bad one, cor-
 rect it, or defend it by force. If you be a set of
 abominable tyrants, have at least the courage to
 acknowledge it. If you be just, let the people
 talk and sleep in peace. If you be oppressors,
 tranquillity and sleep are not made for you, nor
 will you ever enjoy them, notwithstanding all
 your efforts. Remember the fate of him who
 was willing to be hated, provided he might be
 feared. You will certainly experience the same,
 unless you be surrounded by vile slaves, such as
 the inhabitants of Virginia at that time undoubt-
 edly were. The representatives of this province
 granted, without hesitation, their consent to a
 law, which secured impunity to all the plunders
 of

of their governors. The misfortunes of Virginia were soon aggravated by other calamities.

BOOK
XVIII.

AT the origin of the colony, justice was administered with a degree of disinterestedness, which warranted the equity of the judgments. One single court took cognizance of all differences, and decided upon them in a few days, with a right of appeal to the general assembly, which used as much dispatch in settling them. This order of things gave the governors too little influence over the fortunes of individuals, for them not to endeavour to suppress it. By their manœuvres, and under several pretences, they obtained that the appeals, which till then had been carried before the representatives of the province, should be made exclusively to their council.

A STILL more fatal innovation was ordained in 1692 by another governor, who enacted, that the laws, the tribunals, the formalities, every thing, in a word, that contributed to form the chaos of English jurisprudence, should be established in his government. Nothing was less suitable to the planters of Virginia, than statutes so singular, so complicated, and often so contradictory. Accordingly, these uninformed men found themselves engaged in a labyrinth to which they could find no issue. They were generally alarmed for their rights and their properties; and this apprehension slackened their labours for a long time.

THESE were not carried on with vigour and success, till after the beginning of the century, at which time nothing impeded their increase; only the

B O O K the frontiers of the colony were exposed in the
XVIII. latter times to the devastations of the savages,
 whom they had exasperated by their acts of atrociousness and injustice. These differences were terminated in 1774. They would have been forgotten, had it not been for the speech made by Logan, chief of the Shawanese, to Lord Dunmore, governor of the province.

“ I now ask of every white man, whether he
 “ hath ever entered the cottage of Logan, when
 “ pressed with hunger, and been refused food ?
 “ Whether coming naked, and shivering with
 “ cold, Logan hath not given him something to
 “ cover himself with. During the course of this
 “ last war, so long and so bloody, Logan hath
 “ remained quietly upon his mat, wishing to be
 “ the advocate of peace. Yes, such is my attachment
 “ for white men, that even those of
 “ my nation, when they passed by me, pointed
 “ at me, saying, *Logan is a friend to white men.*
 “ I had even thought of living amongst you ;
 “ but that was before the injury which I have
 “ received from one of you. Last summer,
 “ Colonel Cressop massacred in cool blood, and
 “ without any provocation, all the relations of
 “ Logan, without sparing either his wife or his
 “ children. There is not now one drop of my
 “ blood in the veins of any human creature existing.
 “ This is what has excited my revenge.
 “ I have sought it; I have killed several of
 “ your people, and my hatred is appeased. I rejoice
 “ at seeing the prospect of peace brighten
 “ upon my country. But do not imagine that my
 “ joy

“ joy is instigated by fear. Logan knows not BOOK
XVIII.
 “ what fear is. He will never turn his back, in
 “ order to save his life. But, alas! no one re-
 “ mains to mourn for Logan when he shall be no.
 “ more!”

WHAT a beautiful, simple, energetic, and affecting speech! Are Demosthenes, Cicero, or Bossuet, more eloquent than this savage? What better proof can be adduced of the truth of that well-known maxim, which says, that *from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks*.

VIRGINIA, like most of the other colonies, was inhabited at first only by vagabonds, destitute of family and fortune. They soon obtained some kind of wealth by labour, and they were desirous of sharing the sweets of it with a female companion. As there were no women in the province, and that they would have none but such as were decent, they gave 2250 livres * for every young person brought them from Europe with a certificate of virtue and chastity. This custom was not of long duration. As soon as all doubts respecting the salubrity and fertility of the country were removed, whole families, even of respectable rank, went to Virginia. The population was increasing with some degree of rapidity, when its progress was stopped by fanaticism.

Population,
trade, and
manners of
Virginia.

THE religion of the mother-country was the first, and soon became the only one which was followed in this province, when some Non-conformists also crossed the seas. Their tenets, or

BOOK
XVIII.

their ceremonies, disgusted; and in 1642 a law was made, which expelled from the province all those inhabitants who did not belong to the church of England. The imperious law of necessity soon caused the revocation of this fatal decree: but a toleration so tardy, and which was evidently granted with reluctance, did not produce the great effects that were expected from it. A small number only of Presbyterians, Quakers, and French refugees, ventured to put any trust in this repentance. The religion of Henry VIII. continued to be the prevailing one, and was almost exclusive.

In process of time, however, men multiplied upon this soil, the fertility of which was daily increasing in reputation. The passion for riches with which the Old Continent was more and more infected, gave citizens incessantly to this part of the New World. If the calculations of congress be not exaggerated, the population amounts to six hundred and fifty thousand souls, including the slaves, whose number, according to the common opinion, amounts to one hundred and fifty thousand. The Dutch first introduced these unfortunate people into the colony in 1620.

THE labours of these white men, and of these negroes, give to the two hemispheres, corn, maize, dry vegetables, iron, hemp, hides, furs, salt meats, tar, wood, masts, and especially tobacco, which is generally superior to that of Maryland, though it be not equally excellent in every part of the province. The preference is given to that of York River; the second best is reckoned

reckoned to be that which grows along James's River, and that which grows on the borders of the Rappahanoc, and to the south of the Potowmack, is the least esteemed.

BOOK
XVIII.

FROM 1752 till the end of 1755, Great Britain received from Virginia and Maryland together, three million five hundred and one thousand one hundred and ten quintals of tobacco, which made for each of the four years, eight hundred and seventy-five thousand two hundred and fourscore quintals. Virginia exported two million nine hundred and eighty-nine thousand eight hundred quintals, which reduced its annual consumption to one hundred and twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and thirty quintals.

FROM the year 1763, till the end of 1770, the two colonies sent to the mother-country no more than six million five hundred thousand quintals of tobacco, or eight hundred and twelve thousand five hundred quintals each of the eight years. No more was sold to foreigners than five million one hundred and forty-eight thousand quintals, or six hundred and forty-three thousand five hundred quintals per annum; the nation therefore annually consumed one hundred and sixty-nine thousand quintals.

IN the interval between these two periods the importation, therefore, decreased annually, one year with another, sixty-two thousand seven hundred and fourscore quintals, and the exportation one hundred and three thousand nine hundred and fifty quintals; while the consumption in England increased forty-one thousand one hundred and seventy quintals every year.

THE use of tobacco hath not decreased in Europe; the passion for this superfluity hath even increased, notwithstanding the heavy duties with which it hath been burthened by all governments. If the tobacco furnished by North America be daily less sought after among us, it is because Holland, Alsatia, the Palatinate, and principally Russia, have carried on this culture with great industry.

IN 1769, Virginia and Maryland together sold to the amount of 16,195,577 livres 4 sols 7 deniers * of their productions. Two-thirds of this sum belonged to the first of these settlements. Tobacco was the principal of these productions; since one of the colonies exported fifty-seven million three hundred and thirty-seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-five pounds weight of it; and the other, twenty-five million seven hundred and eighty-one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine pounds weight.

IN Virginia, vessels employed for the exportation of these productions do not find them collected in a small number of staples, as in the other commercial states of the globe. They are obliged to form their cargo by detail from the plantations themselves, which are situated at a greater or less distance from the ocean, upon navigable rivers, of one or two hundred miles in length. This custom fatigues the navigators, and makes their voyage tedious. Great Britain, which is always attentive to the preservation of

* About 674,815 l. 14s. 4½d.

her-seamen, and is particularly careful of lessening the number of their voyages, wished, and even ordered, that some towns should be built at the mouth of the rivers, where the productions of the province might be sent. But neither insinuations, nor the constraint of the laws, were of any avail. A few small villages only were built, which could scarce fulfil even the least part of the views of the mother-country. Williamsburg itself hath no more than two thousand inhabitants, though it be the residence of the governor, the place where the national assemblies and the courts of justice are holden, and where colleges are instituted; though it be decorated with the finest public edifices on the Northern continent; and though it be the capital of the colony, since the ruin of James-town.

MEN, who prefer the tranquillity of a rural life to the tumultuous abode of cities, ought naturally to be œconomical and laborious; but this was never the case in Virginia. Its inhabitants were always very expensive in the furniture of their houses; they were always fond of entertaining their neighbours with ostentation. They always liked to display the greatest luxury before the English navigators, whom business brought to their plantations. They always gave themselves up to that effeminacy, and to that negligence, so common in countries where slavery is established. Accordingly, the engagements of the colony became habitually very considerable. At the beginning of the troubles, they were sup-

BOOK
XVIII.

posed to amount to 25,000,000 of livres *. This prodigious sum was due to the merchants of Great Britain, for negroes, or for other articles, which they had furnished. The confidence of these bold lenders was particularly founded upon an unjust law, which secured their payment in preference to every other debt, though previously contracted.

THE colony hath great powers to extricate itself from a situation apparently so desperate. It will succeed, when more simplicity shall prevail in the manners, and more moderation in the expences; when availing itself of the resources offered by an immense and fertile territory, it shall vary and improve its cultures; it will succeed, when it shall no longer receive from foreigners the most ordinary household furniture, and that which is in most general use; when its manufactures shall no longer be confined to the employing of some small quantities of cotton, which is of too indifferent a quality to be sought for in the European manufactures; and when its public coffers, less plundered, and better regulated, shall admit of the diminution of the taxes, which are much more considerable in that province than in any other of this continent. Several of these counsels may concern the two Carolinas.

Origin of
the two
Carolinas.
Their first
and their

THE vast country which these provinces occupy, was discovered by the Spaniards, soon after their first expeditions in the New World; they

* 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.

despised

despised it, because it did not offer any gold to their avarice. Admiral Coligny, more wise, and more able, opened there a source of industry to the French protestants; but fanaticism, which pursued them, ruined their hopes by the assassination of this just, humane, and enlightened man. They were succeeded by a few Englishmen towards the end of the sixteenth century; who by an inexplicable caprice forsook this infant settlement, to go and cultivate a harsher soil, under a less temperate climate.

BOOK
XVIII.

last government, both civil and religious.

THERE was not a single European seen in Carolina, when the lords Berkley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven, Ashley, and Messrs. Carteret, Berkley, and Colleton, obtained from Charles II. in 1663, a grant of this fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was drawn up by the famous Locke. A philosopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and justice which should be the only rule of their actions, ought to have destroyed the very foundations of that fanaticism, which in all countries hath excited divisions among them, and which will induce them to take up arms against each other to the end of time.

INTOLERATION, however horrid it may appear to us, is a necessary consequence of the spirit of superstition. Will it not be acknowledged, that punishments should be proportioned to the nature of offences? What crime then can be greater than that of infidelity, in the eyes of him who considers religion as the fundamental basis of morality? According to these principles, the

B O O K
XVIII.

irreligious man is the common enemy of all society; the breaker of the only tie that connects men with each other; the promoter of all the crimes that may escape the severity of the laws. It is he who stifles every remorse, who sets the passions loose from every restraint, and who keeps, as it were, a school of wickedness. What! shall we lead to the gibbet an unfortunate man, whom indigence conceals upon the highway, who rushes out upon the traveller with a pistol in his hand, and demands a small pittance that may be necessary for the subsistence of his wife and children, who may be expiring with misery; and shall we pardon a robber infinitely more dangerous? We think meanly of the man who suffers his friend to be ill spoken of in his presence; and shall we require that the religious man shall suffer the infidel to blaspheme his Master, his Father, and his Creator with impunity? We must either admit that all faith is absurd, or we must put up with intoleration as a necessary evil. Saint Lewis reasoned very consistently when he said to Joinville, *If thou shouldst ever hear any one speak ill of God, draw thy sword and stab him through the heart; I allow thee to do it.* So important it is in all countries, as we are assured is the case in China, that sovereigns, and the depositaries of their authority, should not be attached to any tenet, to any sect, nor to any form of religious worship.

EVERY thing induces us to imagine that such was the opinion of Locke. But not daring to attack too openly the prejudices of the times, founded equally on virtues and vices, he wished

to conciliate them as much as could be consistent with a principle dictated by reason and humanity. As the savage inhabitants of America, said he, have no idea of a revelation, it would be the height of folly to torment them for their ignorance. Those Christians who should come to people the colony, would undoubtedly come in quest of a liberty of conscience, which priests and princes deny them in Europe: it would therefore not be consistent with good faith to persecute, after having received them. The Jews and the Pagans did not more deserve to be rejected, for an insatiation which mildness and persuasion might have put a stop to.

Thus it was that the English philosopher reasoned with men whose minds were imbued and prejudiced with tenets which it had not yet been allowed to discuss. Out of regard to their weakness, he placed the system of toleration which he was establishing under the following restriction: that every person above seventeen years of age, who should claim the protection of the laws, should cause his name to be registered in some communion. This was a breach made in his system. The liberty of conscience admits of no kind of modification. This is an account which man owes to God alone. In whatever manner the magistrate may be made to interfere in it, it is an act of injustice. A Deist could not possibly subscribe to such terms.

Civil liberty, however, was much less favoured by Locke. Whether this proceeded from motives of complaisance for those who employed him, a

kind of meanness which we are averse from suspecting him of; or whether, being more of a metaphysician than a statesman, he had pursued philosophy only in those tracts which had been opened by Descartes and Leibnitz, it is certain, that the same man who had dissipated and destroyed so many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the paths of legislation. The author of a work, the permanency of which will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny shall have broken all the springs, and all the monuments of the genius of a people esteemed by the whole world for so many brilliant and amiable qualities; even Montesquieu himself did not perceive that he was making men for governments, instead of governments for men.

THE code of Carolina, by a singularity not to be accounted for in an Englishman and in a philosopher, gave to the eight proprietors who founded the settlement, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of sovereignty, but all the powers of legislation.

THE first use these sovereigns made of their authority was to create three orders of nobility. Those to whom they gave no more than twelve thousand acres of land were called barons; those who received twenty-four thousand were called caciques, and the title of landgrave was bestowed on those two who obtained fourscore thousand each. These concessions could never be alienated in detail, and their fortunate possessors were alone to form the house of peers. The house of commons

commons was composed of the representatives of the towns and counties, but with privileges less considerable than in the mother-country. The assembly was called a court palatine. Every tenant was obliged to pay annually 1 livre 2 sols 6 deniers * per acre, but he was allowed to redeem this duty.

B O O K
XVIII.

THE progress of this great settlement was for too long a time impeded by powerful obstacles.

THE colony had from its origin been open indiscriminately to all sects, which had all enjoyed the same privileges. It had been understood, that this was the only way to make an infant state acquire rapid and great prosperity. The members of the church of England being afterwards jealous of the non-conformists, wanted to exclude them from government, and even to oblige them to shut up the houses where they performed divine service. These acts of folly and of violence were annulled in 1706 by the mother-country, as being contrary to humanity, to justice, to reason, and to policy. From the collision of these opinions arose cabals and tumults, which diverted the inhabitants from useful labours, and turned their attention to a multitude of absurdities, which will be never so much despised as they deserve to be.

Two wars, which were carried on against the savages, were almost as extravagant and as destructive of every improvement. All the wandering or fixed nations between the ocean and the

B O O N
XVIII.

Apalachian mountains, were attacked and massacred without any interest or motive; those who escaped being put to the sword, either submitted or were dispersed. In the mean while, a form of constitution ill-arranged, was the principal cause of an almost general indolence. The lords who were proprietors, imbued with despotic principles, used their utmost efforts to establish an arbitrary government. The colonists, on the other hand, who were not ignorant of the rights of mankind, exerted themselves with equal warmth to avoid servitude. It was necessary either to establish a new order of things, or to suffer, that a vast country, from which such great advantages had been expected, should remain in perpetual humiliation, misery, and anarchy. The British senate at length took the resolution, in 1728, to restore this fine country to the nation, and to grant to its first masters 540,000 livres * in compensation. Granville alone, from motives which are unknown to us, was left in possession of his eighth share, which was situated on the confines of Virginia: but even this part was not long before it recovered its independence. The English government, as it was already established in the other provinces of the New World, was substituted to the whimsical arrangement, which, in times of extreme corruption, had been extorted from an indolent and weak monarch by insatiable favourites. The country might then expect to prosper. It was divided into two distinct

* 22,500*l*.

governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the administration of it.

BOOK
XVIII.

Conformities between
the two Carolinas.

THE two countries united occupy more than four hundred thousand miles upon the coast, and about two hundred thousand miles in the inland parts. It is a plain, in general sandy, which is rendered very marshy by the overflowing of the rivers, and by heavy and frequent rains. The soil doth not begin to rise, till at the distance of fourscore or a hundred miles from the sea; and it continues rising as far as the Apalachian mountains. Upon these latitudes, and in the midst of pine-trees, which are irregularly placed there by nature, a few sheep, extremely degenerated, both in their flesh and in their fleece, feed upon a strong and coarse grass; there are also a number of horned cattle, who have not preserved all their strength and all their beauty; and an innumerable quantity of hogs, who appear to have improved.

THE country is watered by a great number of rivers, some of which are navigable. They would be so for a longer space, were it not for the rocks and the water-falls which interrupt the navigation.

THOUGH the climate be as variable as the rest of North America, it is commonly agreeably temperate. A piercing cold is never felt but in the evening and morning, and there are seldom any excessive heats. Though fogs be frequent, they are at least dispelled in the middle of the day. Unfortunately, in the months of July, August,

B O O K
XVIII.

August, September, and October, intermittent fevers prevail in the plains, and are sometimes fatal to the natives themselves, and, too often, destroy foreigners.

SUCH is the natural organisation of the two Carolinas; let us see what distinguishes them from each other.

What distinguishes
North Carolina.

NORTH CAROLINA is one of the largest provinces of the continent; it unfortunately doth not offer advantages proportioned to its extent. Its soil is generally flatter, more sandy, and more marshy, than that of South Carolina. These melancholy plains are covered with pines or cedars, which announce a barren soil; and are intersected at intervals by a small number of oaks, too full of sap to be employed in the construction of ships. The coasts, generally blocked up by a sand bank, which keeps navigators at a distance, are not more favourable to population than the inland countries. Finally, the country is more exposed than the neighbouring regions to the hurricanes that come from the South-East.

THESE were undoubtedly the motives which prevented the English of North Carolina from settling there, though that country was the first which they discovered in the New World. None of the numerous people who were driven to that part of the hemisphere, either from inclination or necessity, carried there their misery or their restlessness. It was long after, that a few vagabonds, without friends, without laws, and without plan to fix themselves, settled there. But,

in

in process of time, the lands in the other colonies became scarce, and then men who were not able to purchase them, betook themselves to a country where they could get lands without purchase. According to the account of congress, three hundred thousand souls, in which few slaves are included, are still found in the province. There are but few of these inhabitants which are either English, Irish, or German. Most of them are of Scotch origin, and for this reason :

THESE Highlanders, whose character has been so boldly described by a masterly hand, were never enslaved either by the Romans, the Saxons, or the Danes. They bravely repulsed every invasion, and no foreign customs could penetrate beyond the foot of their inaccessible habitations. Separated from the rest of the globe, they displayed in their manners the politeness of courts, without having any of their vices; their countenance shewed the pride with which the nobility of their origin had inspired them; and they were possessed of all the delicacy of our point of honour, but without its suspicious minutiae. As industry had not transformed them into mere machines, and as the nature of their soil and climate did not require the labours of the fields for more than two seasons in the year, they had a great deal of leisure time, which they employed in war, in hunting, in dancing, or in conversations animated by picturesque expressions, and original ideas. Most of them were musicians. Schools were every where opened
for

BOOK
XVIII.

for the instruction of youth. Under every roof was found one historian, to recal to their minds great events, and a poet to celebrate them. The lakes, the forests, the caves, the cataracts, the majestic grandeur of all the objects that surrounded them, inspired them with an elevation of mind, cast a shade of melancholy over their characters, and kept up in their hearts a sacred enthusiasm. These people esteemed themselves, without despising other nations. Their aspect struck the civilized man with awe, in whom they only beheld one of their equals, whatever title he might be decorated with. They received all foreigners who came to them with a simple and cordial affection. They kept a long time in their memory, a resentment for any injury offered to any of them : which was rendered common to them all by the ties of blood. After an engagement they dressed their enemies wounds before their own. As they were always armed, the habitual use of destructive weapons, prevented them from having any fear of them. They believed in spirits ; and if the lightning shone during the night, if thunder rolled over their heads, if the storm rooted up the trees around their houses, or shook their roofs, they imagined that it was some forgotten hero reproaching them for their silence : they then took up their instruments, and sang a hymn to his honour ; they assured him that his memory would never be forgotten among the children of men. They believed in presages and in divination. They all submitted to the established form

Form of worship; superstition never excited quarrels among them, nor caused the effusion of one drop of blood.

THESE manners were never altered; nor could they be so. The Scotch formed a great number of tribes, called *clans*; each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the estate of some particular lord. It was the hereditary patriarch of a family, from whom they all claimed their descent, and they all knew to what degree.

THE castle was in some measure a common property, where every person was sure of meeting with an honourable reception, and where they all resorted upon the first rumour of war. They all revered their own dignity in their chief; they had a brotherly affection for the other members of the confederation. They all patiently supported their fate, because it never had any thing humiliating in it. The head of the clan, on his side, was the common father of them all, as well from gratitude as from interest.

THIS order of things subsisted during a long series of ages without the least alteration. At last the noblemen contracted the habit of spending a great part of their lives in travelling, at London, or at court. These repeated absences detached from them their vassals, who saw them less frequently, and were no longer assisted by them. These men, who were no longer restrained by any tie of affection in their barren and savage mountains, then dispersed themselves. Several of them went in search of another country in divers provinces of America. The greatest

B O O K
XVIII.

greatest number took refuge in North Carolina.

THESE colonists are seldom assembled together, and they are therefore the least informed of the Americans, and the most indifferent to the public interest. Most of them live dispersed upon their plantations, without ambition or foresight. They are but little inclined to labour, and they are seldom good planters. Though they have the English form of government, the laws have very little force among them. Their domestic are better than their social manners, and there is scarce an instance of any one of them having had any connection with a slave. Their food consists of pork, milk, and maize; and they can be accused of no other kind of intemperance, than an inordinate passion for spirituous liquors.

THE first unfortunate people whom chance dispersed along these savage coasts, confined themselves to the cutting of wood, which they delivered to the navigators, who came to purchase it. In a short time they collected from the pine tree, which covered the country, turpentine, tar, and pitch. To collect the turpentine it was sufficient to make incisions in the trunk of the tree, which being carried on to the foot of it, terminated in vessels placed there to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raised a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pines; to these they set fire, and the resin distilled from them into casks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it, or in pits.

pits formed of potter's earth into which it was poured while in a fluid state. In process of time, the province was enabled to furnish Europe with hides, a small quantity of wax, a few furs, ten or twelve millions weight of an inferior kind of tobacco; and the West Indies, with a great quantity of salt pork, maize, dried vegetables, a small quantity of indifferent flour, and several objects of less importance. The exportations of the colony did not, however, exceed twelve or fifteen hundred thousand livres*.

NORTH CAROLINA hath not yet attended to the exportation of its own productions. What its soil furnishes to the New Hemisphere, hath been hitherto taken away by the navigators of the North of America; who brought in exchange rum, of which it hath still continued to make an immense consumption. The articles which the colony delivers to the Old World, have passed through the hands of the English, who supplied it with cloaths, instruments for agriculture, and some Negroes.

THROUGH the whole extent of the coasts, there is no port but that of Brunswick, which can receive the vessels destined for those transactions. Those which draw no more than sixteen feet water, anchor at that town, which is built almost at the mouth of the river of Cape Fear, towards the southern extremity of the province. Wilmington, its capital, situated higher up upon the same river, admits only much smaller vessels.

* From 50,000l. to 62,500l.

BOOK
XVIII.

What distinguishes
South Carolina.

SOUTH CAROLINA furnishes to the trade of both hemispheres as North Carolina, but in less quantity. Its labours have been chiefly turned towards rice and indigo.

RICE is a plant very much resembling wheat in shape and colour, and in the figure and disposition of its leaves. The panicle which terminates the stem is composed of small flowers, distinct from each other, which have four unequal scales, six stamina, and one pistil, surrounded with two styles. This pistil becomes a white seed, extremely farinaceous, covered with two interior scales; which are larger, yellowish, covered with light asperities, and furnished with several salient costæ, the middle one of which terminates in an elongated extremity. This plant thrives only in low, damp, and marshy lands, when they are even a little overflowed. The period of its discovery is traced to the remotest antiquity.

EGYPT, unfortunately for itself, first attended to it. The pernicious effect of this culture, rendered the country the most unhealthy in the known world; constantly ravaged by epidemical disorders, and afflicted with cutaneous diseases, which passed from that region to the others, where they have been perpetuated during whole centuries, and where they have only been put a stop to, by the contrary cause to that which had occasioned them; to wit, the drying up of the marshes, and the restoring of salubrity to the air and to the waters. China, and the East Indies, must experience the same calamities, if art doth

not

not oppose preservatives to nature, whose benefits are sometimes accompanied with evils; or if the heat of the torrid zone doth not quickly dispel the damp and malignant vapours which are exhaled from the rice grounds. It is a known fact, that in the rice grounds of the Milaneze, the cultivators are all livid and dropical.

B O O K
XVIII.

OPINIONS differ about the manner in which rice hath been naturalized in Carolina. But whether the province may have acquired it by a shipwreck, or whether it may have been carried there with slaves, or whether it be sent from England, it is certain that the soil seemed favourable for it. It multiplied, however, very slowly, because the colonists, who were obliged to send their harvests into the ports of the mother-country, by which they were sent into Spain and Portugal, where they were consumed, acquired so small a profit from their productions, that it was scarcely sufficient to defray the expences of cultivation. In 1730, a more enlightened administration permitted the direct exportation of this grain beyond Cape Finisterre. Some years afterwards it was allowed to be carried to the West Indies, and then the provinces being sure of selling the good rice advantageously in Europe, and the inferior or spoilt rice in America, attended seriously to the cultivation of it. This production grows, by the care of the Negroes, in the morasses which are near the coasts. At a great distance from the ocean, indigo is cultivated by the same hands, but with less danger.

BOOK
XVIII.

THIS plant, which originally comes from Indostan, succeeded at first at Mexico; afterwards at the Antilles, and lastly in South Carolina. The first experiments made in this province, yielded only a produce of an exceedingly inferior quality: but this dye acquires daily a greater degree of perfection. Its cultivators do not even despair of supplanting, in time, the Spaniards and the French in all the markets. Their hopes are founded upon the extent of their soil, upon the abundance and the cheapness of subsistence, and especially upon the custom which they have of ploughing their grounds with animals, and of sowing the indigo in them in the same manner as corn; while, on the contrary, in the West Indies they are the slaves who prepare the grounds, and who throw the seed into holes, disposed at different distances to receive it.

If, contrary to all probability, this revolution in trade should ever happen, South Carolina, which at present reckons two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, half white people and half Negroes, and the exportations of which, including those of North Carolina, amounted, in the year 1769, to 10,601,336 livres *, would soon double its population and its cultures. It is already the richest of all the provinces of the Northern continent. Accordingly, the taste for the conveniences of life is generally prevalent, and the expences are carried as far as luxury.

* 44,722l. 6s. 8d.

This magnificence was more particularly remarked some time ago in the funerals. As many citizens as it was possible to collect were assembled at them; expensive dishes were served up, and the most exquisite wines and the scarcest liquors were lavished. To the plate which the family had, was added that of the relations, the neighbours, and the friends. It was common to see fortunes either much incroached upon, or even deranged, by these obsequies. The sanguinary and ruinous contests between the mother-country and the colonies have put a stop to these profusions; but without abolishing a custom perhaps still more extravagant.

B O O K
XVIII.

FROM the origin of the settlement, the ministers of religion adopted the custom of pronouncing indiscriminately, in the churches, an elogium upon every one of their flock after death. The praise was never in proportion to the actions and virtues of the deceased, but to the greater or less reward which they were to receive for the funeral oration. So that while, in our countries, the Catholic priests were making a traffic of prayer, the clergy of the church of England were carrying on, in the other hemisphere, the more odious traffic of the praises of the dead.

COULD there be a more effectual method of degrading virtue, of diminishing the horror of vice, and of corrupting in men's minds the true notions of each? Could there be any thing more scandalous to a whole Christian audience, than the impudence of an orator, of a preacher of the gospel extolling a citizen who had been abhorred for his

BOOK
XVIII.

avarice, his cruelty, and his debauchery; a bad father, an ungrateful son, or married persons who had led a life of dissoluteness; and placing in heaven those whom the Almighty Judge had precipitated into the depth of the infernal regions?

SOUTH CAROLINA hath only three cities worthy of being called so; and these are also ports.

GEORGE TOWN, situated at the mouth of the Black River, is still very inconsiderable; but its situation must render it one day more important.

BEAUFORT, or Port Royal, will never emerge from a state of mediocrity, though its road be capable of receiving and securing the largest ships.

It is Charlestown, the capital of the colony, which is at present the most important staple, and which must necessarily become still more so.

THE channel which leads up to it is full of breakers, and embarrassed with a sand-bank: but with the assistance of a good pilot, a ship arrives safely in the harbour. It can receive three hundred sail; and ships of three hundred and fifty or four hundred tons burthen can enter it at all times, with their entire cargo.

THE town occupies a great space, at the confluence of the two navigable rivers, Ashley and Cooper. Its streets are very regular, and most of them large; it hath two thousand convenient houses, and a few public buildings, which would be reckoned handsome even in Europe. The double advantage which Charlestown enjoys of being

being the staple for the productions of the colony which are to be exported, and of all the foreign merchandise that can be consumed there, keeps up a constant activity in it, and hath successively been the cause of making some considerable fortunes.

BOOK
XVIII.

THE two Carolinas are still very far from attaining to that degree of splendour to which they have a right to aspire. North Carolina doth not cultivate all the productions of which its soil is susceptible, and those which it seems to attend a little to, are in a manner left to chance. The inhabitants of South Carolina are more intelligent and more active: but they have not yet found out, at least not sufficiently, how far they might improve their fortune by the culture of the above tree, and of silk. Neither of these provinces have cleared one quarter of their territory which may be usefully employed. This labour is reserved for future generations, and for an increase of population. Then undoubtedly some kind of industry will be established in provinces, where there would not exist the least appearance of any, if the French refugees had not brought a linen manufactory to them.

BETWEEN Carolina and Florida, there is a slip of land, which extends sixty miles along the sea-side, which acquires, by degrees, a breadth of one hundred and fifty miles, and hath three hundred miles in depth, as far as the Apalachian mountains. This country is limited on the North by the Savannah river, and to the South by the river Altamaha.

By whom,
upon what
occasion, and
in what
manner,
Georgia was
founded.

BOOK
XVIII.

THE English ministry had been long desirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was considered as dependent upon Carolina. One of those instances of benevolence, which liberty, the source of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, served to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his estate to set at liberty such insolvent debtors as were detained in prison by their creditors. Where shall we find, either in France or in other parts, any person who shall thus propose to expiate a long abuse of prosperity? Several will die, after having squandered away millions, without being able to recollect one good action they have done. Several will die, and will leave behind them, to heirs who are anxious for their death, treasures acquired by usury and concussion, without repairing, by some honourable and useful institution, the crime of their opulence. Is it then one of the necessary effects of gold, to harden the heart to the last, and to stifle remorse; since there is scarce any man who hath known how to make a good use of it during his life; scarce any man who has employed it in procuring tranquillity to himself in his last moments? Prudential reasons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that such unhappy prisoners as were released, should be transplanted into that desert country, that was now intended to be peopled.

peopled. It was named Georgia, in honour of the reigning sovereign. BOOK
XVIII.

THIS instance of respect, the more pleasing, as it was not the effect of flattery; and the execution of a design of so much real advantage to the state, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 225,000 livres * to the estate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary subscription produced a much more considerable sum. General Oglethorpe, a man who had distinguished himself in the house of commons by his taste for great designs, by his zeal for his country, and his passion for glory, was fixed upon to direct these public finances, and to carry into execution so excellent a project. Desirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he chose to conduct himself the first colonists that were sent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a spot ten miles distant from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. The river gave its name to this feeble settlement, which might one day become the capital of a flourishing colony. It consisted at first of no more than one hundred persons; but before the end of the year the number was increased to six hundred and eighteen; of whom one hundred and twenty-seven had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and one hundred and thirteen women, one hundred and two lads, and eighty-three girls, formed the begin-

* 9,375*l*.

B O O K XVIII. **XVIII.** ning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous posterity.

THIS settlement was increased in 1735 by the arrival of some Scotch highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an establishment offered them upon the borders of the Alatomaha, to defend the colony, if necessary, against the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the town of Darien, five leagues distant from the island of St. Simon, where the hamlet of Frederica was already established.

IN the same year, a great number of Protestants, driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical priest, embarked for Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience. Ebenezer, situated upon the river Savannah, sixteen leagues from the ocean, owed its rise to these victims of an odious superstition.

SOME Switzers followed the example of these wise Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been persecuted. They also settled on the bank of the Savannah; but three leagues lower, and upon a spot which subjected them to the laws of Carolina. Their colony, consisting of a hundred habitations, was named Puryzburg, from Pury their founder, who having been at the expence of their settlement, was deservedly chosen their chief, in testimony of their gratitude to him.

IN these four or five colonies, some men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. These, therefore, separated from the rest, in order to build the city of Augusta, one hundred and forty-five miles distant from the ocean. The goodness

goodness of the soil was not the object they had in view; but they wished to share with Virginia and the Carolinas the peltries which these provinces obtained from the Creeks, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees, which were the most numerous savage nations of this continent. Their project was so successful, that as early as the year 1739, six hundred people were employed in this commerce. The sale of these furs was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumstance of the Savannah admitting, during the greatest part of the year, ships from twenty to thirty tons burthen as far as the walls of Augusta.

THE mother-country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony which had received, in a very short space of time, five thousand inhabitants, which had cost the treasury 1,485,000 livres*, and the zealous patriots a great deal more. What must not therefore have been their astonishment, when, in 1741, they were informed, that most of the unfortunate people who had sought an asylum in Georgia, had successively withdrawn themselves from it; and that the few who remained there seemed only desirous to fix in a less insupportable spot? The reasons of this singular event were inquired into and discovered.

THIS colony, even in its origin, brought with it the seeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been

Impediments that have prevented the progress of Georgia.

* 61,8751.

B O O K
XVIII.

ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent scheme ; but nations, any more than individuals, do not learn instruction from their past misconduct. Facts are generally unknown ; and if they should not be, still bad consequences are imputed to unable predecessors, or else some trifling difference in circumstances, or in some frivolous precautions, afford a pretence for giving a false colouring to measures that are faulty in themselves. Hence it happens, that an enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard against every misuse of its confidence. The English ministry, therefore, sacrificed the public interest to the rapacious views of interested individuals.

THE first use which the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were invested with, was to establish a system of legislation, that made them entirely masters, not only of the police, justice, and finances of the country, but even of the lives and estates of its inhabitants. Every species of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original possessors of every right. Obedience was required of them, though contrary to their interest and knowledge ; and it was considered as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniences had been found to arise in other colonies from large possessions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land at first, and never more than five hundred ; which they were not permitted

ted to mortgage, or even to dispose of by will to their female issue. This last regulation, of making only the male issue capable of inheritance, was soon abolished; but there still remained too many obstacles to excite a spirit of emulation.

B O O K
XVIII.

WHEN a man is neither pursued by the laws, nor driven away to avoid ignominy, nor tormented by religious tyranny, by the persecutions of his creditors, by shame or misery, or by the want of every kind of resource in his own country, he doth not renounce his relations, his friends, and his fellow-citizens; he doth not banish himself, he doth not cross the seas, he doth not go in search of a distant land, unless he be attracted there by hopes which are more powerful than the allurements of his native soil, than the value he sets upon his existence, and the dangers to which he exposes himself. To go on board of ship, in order to be landed on an unknown region, is the act of a desperate man, unless the imagination be influenced by the prospect of some great happiness; a prospect which the least alarm will dissipate. If the vague and unlimited confidence the emigrant hath in his industry, in which his whole fortune consists, be shaken by any means whatever, he will remain upon the shore. Such must necessarily have been the effect of the boundaries assigned to every plantation. Several other errors still affected the original plan of this country, and prevented its increase.

THE taxes imposed upon the most fertile of the English colonies are very inconsiderable, and even these

BOOK
XVIII.

these are not levied till the settlements have acquired some degree of vigour and prosperity. From its infant state, Georgia had been subjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been, as it were, fettered. The revenues raised by this kind of service, must have increased beyond measure in process of time. The founders of it, blinded by a spirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the smallest duty imposed upon a populous and flourishing province, would much sooner enrich them, than the heaviest taxes laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this species of oppression was added an arrangement which became a fresh cause of inactivity. The disorders which were the consequence of the use of spirituous liquors throughout all the continent of North America, occasioned the importation of rum to be prohibited in Georgia. This prohibition, however laudable the motive for it might be, deprived the colonists of the only drink which could correct the bad effects of the water of the country, which they found everywhere unhealthy, and of the only means they had of repairing their strength, exhausted by continual perspiration. It also secluded them from the trade of the West Indies, where they were no more allowed to exchange for these liquors the wood, the feeds, and the cattle, which ought to have constituted their first riches.

WEAK as these resources were, they must have increased very slowly, on account of a prohibition which would deserve recommendation, had it been dictated by a sentiment of humanity, and

not by policy. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the use of slaves. Other colonies having been established without their assistance, it was thought that a country, destined to be the bulwark of those possessions, ought not to be peopled by a set of slaves, who could not be in the least interested in the defence of their oppressors. But would this prohibition have taken place, had it been foreseen that colonists, who were less favoured by the mother-country than their neighbours, who were situated in a country less susceptible of culture, and in a hotter climate, would want strength and spirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement?

THE demands of the people, and the refusals of the government, may be equally extravagant. The people listen only to their wants, and sovereigns consult only their personal interest. The former, commonly very indifferent, especially in distant countries, with respect to the powers to which they belong, and those which they may receive by an invasion, neglect their political security, in order to attend only to their personal welfare. The latter, on the contrary, will never hesitate between the felicity of the people, and the solidity of their possessions; and will always prefer a steady and permanent authority over a set of miserable beings, to an uncertain and precarious sway over men who are happy. Their mistrust, which a long series of vexations hath too well justified, will induce them to consider the people as slaves, ever ready to escape from them

BOOK
XVIII.

them by revolt or by flight; and it will not enter into the thoughts of any one of them, that this habitual sentiment of hatred, which they suppose to exist against them because they have deserved it, and which is but too real, would be extinguished, if they could experience a few years of a mild and paternal administration: for nothing is alienated with so much difficulty as the affection of the people. It is founded on the advantages rarely felt, but always acknowledged, of a supreme authority, whatever it may be, which directs, which is watchful, which protects, and which defends. For the same reason, nothing is more easily recovered, when alienated. The delusive hope of a change for the better is alone sufficient to quiet our imagination, and to prolong our miseries without end. What I here advance is confirmed by the almost universal example of the whole world. At the death of a tyrant, all nations flatter themselves with the hopes of a king. The tyrants continue their system of oppression, and die in peace; and the people still continue to groan under it, and to expect with patience a king who never appears. The successor, educated as his father or his grandfather, is prepared from his infancy to model himself after their example, unless he should have received from nature a strength of genius, a firmness of soul, a rectitude of judgment, and a fund of benevolence and equity, which may correct the defect of his education. Without this fortunate disposition, he will not inquire, in any circumstance, what is proper to be done, but what

what hath been done before him. He will not ask what is most suitable to the good of his subjects, whom he will consider as his nearest enemies, on account of the parade of guards that surround him; but he will study what will increase his despotism and their servitude. He will remain ignorant during life of the most simple and most evident of truths; which is, that their strength and his are inseparable from each other. The example of the past will be his only rule of conduct, both on those occasions when it may be prudent to follow it, and on those when it would be proper to deviate from it. The measure which the ministry will adopt in politics, will always be that which shall be most analogous to the spirit of tyranny, the only one which has been decorated with the title of the great art of governing. When, therefore, the inhabitants of Georgia asked for slaves, in order to know whether they should have been granted or refused to them, it was only necessary to examine whether they were required for the better cultivation of the lands, and the greater security of the property of the colony.

IN the mean while, the truly desperate situation of the new settlement proclaimed too forcibly the imprudence of the ministry, to make it possible to persevere in such fatal measures. At length the province received the same form of government which made the other colonies prosper. When it ceased to be a fief belonging to individuals, it became a truly national possession.

BOOK
XVIII.

Situation
and expect-
ations of
Georgia.

SINCE this fortunate revolution, Georgia hath improved considerably, though not so rapidly as was expected. It is true, that neither the vine, the olive-tree, nor silk, have been cultivated, as the mother-country wished; but its marshes have furnished a tolerable quantity of rice; and indigo, superior in quality to that of Carolina, hath been produced upon the higher grounds. Before the 1st January 1768, a grant had been made of six hundred thirty-seven thousand one hundred and seventy acres of land. Those which, in 1763, were worth no more than 3 livres 7 sols 6 deniers*, were sold in 1776 for 67 livres 10 sols †. In 1769, the exportations of the colony amounted to 1,625,418 livres 9 sols 5 deniers ‡; and since that time they have considerably increased.

THIS prosperity will undoubtedly be augmented. In proportion as the forests shall be felled, the air will become more salubrious, and the productions will increase with the population, which at present doth not exceed thirty-thousand men, most of whom are slaves. However, as the lands are not so extensive in Georgia as in most of the other provinces, and that in the same proportion less of them are susceptible of culture, the riches of that colony will always be limited. Let us see whether Florida hath a right to expect a more brilliant destiny.

Florida
becomes a
Spanish pos-
session.

UNDER this name the ambition of Spain comprehended formerly all that tract of land in Ame-

* 2s. 9½d.

† 2l. 16s. 3d.

‡ About 67,725l. 15s. 4½d.

rica, which extended from the Gulph of Mexico to the most northern regions. But fortune, which sports with the vanity of nations, hath long since confined this unlimited denomination to the peninsula formed by the sea, between Georgia and Louisiana.

BOOK
XVIII.

It was Luke Velasquès, whose memory ought to be holden in execration in this world, as he deserves to be punished in the next; it was that monster, to whom I can scarce give the name of man, who first landed upon this region, with the intention of obtaining slaves, either by stratagem or by force. The novelty of the spectacle attracted the neighbouring savages. They were invited to come on board the ships; they were intoxicated, put in irons, and the anchor was weighed, while the guns were fired upon the rest of the Indians, who remained upon the shore. Several of these unfortunate people, so cruelly torn from their own country, refused to take the food which was offered them, and perished from inanition. Others died of grief; and those who survived their despair, were buried in the mines of Mexico.

THESE insatiable gulphs required more victims. The perfidious Velasquès went in search of them again in the same country. He was known, and half of his infamous companions were murdered on their arrival. Those who fled from a justly implacable enemy, were shipwrecked; he himself only escaped the fury of the waves, to lead the remainder of his detested life in shame, misery, and remorse.

SPAIN had forgotten that part of the New World, when the memory of it was revived by a settlement made there by the French. The court of Madrid thought proper to drive from their rich possessions so active a nation; and they accordingly gave orders for the destruction of the infant colony. This command was put in execution in 1565; and the conquerors re-occupied the place, which was rendered an absolute desert by their cruelties. They were threatened with a lingering death, when they were relieved by the culture of saffraas.

THIS tree, which is an evergreen, is peculiar to America, and is better at Florida than in any other part of that hemisphere. It grows equally on the borders of the sea and upon the mountains, but always in a soil which is neither too dry nor too damp. Its roots are even with the surface of the ground. Its trunk, which is very straight, without leaves, and not high, is covered with a thick and dirty bark, of an ash colour, and throws out at its summit some branches which spread out on the coasts. The leaves are disposed alternately, green on the upper, and white on the under surface, and are divided into three lobes. Sometimes they are found entire, especially in young plants. The branches are terminated by clusters of small yellow flowers. They are of the same kind as those of the laurel or cinnamon tree. The fruits, which succeed, are small, blue, pendent berries, fixed to a red pedicle, and to a calix of the same colour.

Its flower is taken in infusion, as mullein ^{BOOK} and tea is. The decoction of its root is used ^{XVIII.} with effect in intermittent fevers. The bark of the trunk hath an acrid and aromatic taste, and a smell similar to that of fennel and aniseed. The wood is whitish and less odoriferous. They are both used in medicine to promote perspiration, to attenuate thick and viscid humours, to remove obstructions, to cure the gout and the palsy. Sassafras was also formerly much prescribed in the venereal disease,

THE first Spaniards who settled there would probably have fallen a sacrifice to this last disorder, at least they would not have recovered from those dangerous fevers with which most of them were attacked on their arrival in Florida, either in consequence of the food of the country, or of the badness of the waters. But the savages taught them, that by drinking fasting, and at their meals, water in which the root of sassafras had been boiled, they might depend upon a speedy recovery. The experiment upon trial proved successful.

WHAT can be the reason that this medicine, and so many others which produce extraordinary cures in those distant countries, seem to have lost almost all their efficacy when transplanted into ours? It must probably be owing to the climate being more favourable for perspiration, to the nature of the plant which degenerates and loses some part of its strength during a long voyage, and especially to the nature of the disease, when joined to our intemperate way of living;

BOOK
XVIII.

and the obstinacy of which increases from the numberless disorders prevailing in our constitutions.

THE Spaniards established some small posts at San Matheo, at Saint Marc, and at Saint Joseph; but it was only at Saint Augustine and at Pensacola that they properly formed settlements; the former on their arrival in the country, and the latter in 1696.

PENSACOLA was attacked and taken by the French during the short contests which divided the two houses of Bourbon in 1718; but it was soon restored.

IN 1740, the English besieged the former of these settlements in vain. The Scotch Highlanders, in endeavouring to cover the retreat of the assailants, were beaten and slain. One of their serjeants only was spared by the savage Indians, who, while they were fighting for the Spaniards, reserved him to undergo those torments which they inflict upon their prisoners. This man, it is said, on seeing the horrid tortures that awaited him, addressed the blood-thirsty multitude in the following manner:

“HEROES and patriarchs of the western world,
“you were not the enemies that I fought for;
“but you have at last been the conquerors. The
“chance of war has thrown me in your power.
“Make what use you think proper of the right
“of conquest. This is a right I do not call in
“question. But as it is customary in my coun-
“try to offer a ransom for one’s life, listen to a
“proposal not unworthy of your notice.

“KNOW

" Know then, valiant Americans, that in the
 " country of which I am a native, there are some
 " men who possess a superior knowledge of the
 " secrets of nature. One of those sages, connected
 " to me by the ties of kindred, imparted to me,
 " when I became a soldier, a charm to make me
 " invulnerable. You must have observed how I
 " have escaped all your darts. Without such a
 " charm would it have been possible for me to
 " have survived all the mortal blows you have
 " aimed at me? For I appeal to your own valour,
 " to testify that mine has sufficiently exerted it-
 " self, and has not avoided any danger. Life is
 " not so much the object of my request, as the
 " glory of communicating to you a secret of so
 " much consequence to your safety, and of ren-
 " dering the most valiant nation upon the earth
 " invincible. Suffer me only to have one of my
 " hands at liberty, in order to perform the cere-
 " monies of enchantment, of which I will now
 " make trial on myself before you."

THE Indians listened with eagerness to this dis-
 course, which was flattering both to their warlike
 character, and their turn for the marvellous.
 After a short consultation, they untied one of the
 prisoner's arms. The highlander begged that they
 would put his broad sword into the hands of the
 most expert and stoutest man among them; and
 at the same time laying bare his neck, after having
 rubbed it, and muttering some words accompanied
 with magic signs, he cried aloud with a cheerful
 countenance, " Observe now, O valiant Indians,
 " an incontestible proof of my honesty. Thou
 B b 4 " warrior,

B. O. O. K
XVIII.

“warrior, who now holdest my keen cutting
“weapon, do thou now strike with all thy
“strength: far from being able to sever my
“head from my body, thou wilt not even
“wound the skin of my neck.”

HE had scarcely spoken these words, when the Indian aiming the most violent blow, struck off the head of the serjeant, to the distance of twenty feet. The savages astonished, stood motionless, viewing the bloody corpse of the stranger; and then turned their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But admiring the artifice the prisoner had made use of to avoid the torture by hastening his death, they bestowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this fact, the date of which is too recent to admit of credit, has not all the marks of authenticity it should have, it will only be one falsehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

Florida is
ceded to
Great Bri-
tain by the
court of
Madrid.

THE treaty of peace of 1763, put in the power of Great Britain, that same Florida which had resisted the strength of their arms twenty-three years before. At that time there were no more than six hundred inhabitants. It was with the sale of their hides, and with the provisions they furnished to their garrison, that they were to provide themselves with clothes, and to supply a small part of their wants, which were exceedingly confined. These miserable people went all to Cuba, though convinced that they would be obliged to beg their bread, if their monarch, moved
with

with such an instance of affection, did not provide for their subsistence.

BOOK
XVIII.

WHAT motive could induce the Spaniards to prefer an oppressive to a free government? Was it superstition, which cannot suffer the altars of the heretics near its own? Was it prejudice, which renders suspicious the morals and the probity of those who profess a different religion? Was it the fear of seduction for themselves, and still more for their children? Long accustomed to idleness, did they imagine that they should be compelled to labour? Or hath man so bad an opinion of man, that he should rather choose to dispose of himself and his fate, than to abandon it to the mercy of his fellow-creature? However it may be, nothing but a desert remained to the power that obtained the possession; but was it not an acquisition to lose inhabitants not inured to fatigue, and who would never have been well affected?

GREAT BRITAIN congratulated itself upon the acquisition of the property of an immense province, the limits of which were still extended as far as the Mississippi, by the cession of one part of Louisiana. That power had for a long time been desirous of settling on a territory which would open an easy communication to them with the richest of the Spanish colonies. They did not give up the hopes of a smuggling trade, but they were aware that this precarious and momentary advantage was not sufficient to render their conquests flourishing, and they turned their labours and expectations principally towards cultivation.

THE

BOOK
XVIII.

What hath
been done
by England,
and what
she may ex-
pect to do,
in Florida.

THE new acquisition was divided into two governments. It was thought that this would be a powerful inducement to carry on with greater zeal, and to direct with more vigour, the cultivation of the lands. Ministry might also have determined upon this division, in expectation of always finding more submission in two separate provinces than in one alone.

SAINT Augustine became the capital of East Florida, and Pensacola of West Florida. These capitals, which were at the same time tolerable good harbours, did not undoubtedly unite all the conveniencies they were susceptible of, but it was still a very fortunate circumstance to find those which they really did possess. The other colonies did not enjoy this advantage at their origin.

THE first colonists who settled in these countries were half-pay officers and disbanded soldiers. All those among them who had served in America and were settled there, obtained the grant of a piece of land proportionable to their rank. This favour was not extended to all the army that had fought in the New World. It would have been apprehended, that the military men of the three kingdoms who were in the same situation, might be tempted to forsake the mother-country, already too much exhausted by the last hostilities.

THE new colony received also cultivators from the neighbouring settlements, from the mother-country, and from several Protestant states. It

also obtained some, whose arrival was a matter of astonishment to both hemispheres.

BOOK
XVIII.

THE Greeks groan under the Ottoman tyranny, and must be inclined to shake off this detested yoke. This was the opinion of Dr. Turnbull, when in 1767, he went to offer an asylum in British America to the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus. Several of them yielded to his solicitations, and for the sum of one hundred guineas he obtained leave from the government of the place to embark them at Modon. He landed in Corfica and at Minorca, and prevailed also upon some of the inhabitants of those two islands to follow him.

THE emigrants, to the number of a thousand, arrived in East Florida with their prudent conductor, where sixty thousand acres of land were granted to them. This would have been an immense possession, even if the climate had not destroyed any of them; but they had unfortunately been so much thwarted by the winds as to prevent their landing before summer, which is a dangerous season, and which destroyed one quarter of their number. They were mostly the old people who perished. They were numerous, because the judicious Turnbull chose to carry none with him but whole families.

THOSE who escaped this first disaster have since enjoyed perfect health, which has only been affected by a few fevers. The men are become stronger in their constitutions, and the women, who, on account of the change of climate, did not breed often at first, are at present very fruitful,

BOOK
XVIII.

ful. It is presumed, that the children will be taller than they would have been in the country from whence their parents came.

THE small colony have received from their founder, institutions, which they have themselves approved, and which are observed. They are still no more than one entire family, where the spirit of concord must be kept up for a long time. On the first of January 1776, they had already cleared two thousand three hundred acres of a tolerably fertile soil. They had animals sufficient for their subsistence and for their labour. Their crops were sufficient for their own consumption, and they sold 67,500 livres* worth of indigo. The industry and activity by which they are distinguished, give great expectations from time and experience.

WHY should not Athens and Lacedæmon be one day revived in North America? Why should not the city of Turnbull become in a few centuries the residence of politeness, of the fine arts, and of eloquence? The new colony is less distant from this flourishing state than were the barbarous Pelasgians from the fellow-citizens of Pericles. What difference there is between a settlement conceived and founded by a wise and pacific man, and the conquests of a long series of avaricious, extravagant, and sanguinary men; between the present state of South America and what it might have been, had those who discovered it, took possession of it and laid it waste, been animated with

* 2,812l. 10s.

the same spirit as the worthy Turnbull? Will ^{B O O K} not nations learn by his example, that the found- ^{XVIII.} ation of a colony requires more wisdom than expence? The universe hath been peopled by one man and one woman only.

THE two Floridas, which in 1769 did not export productions to the amount of more than 673,209 livres 18 sols 9 deniers*, have a remarkable advantage over the rest of this great continent. Situated in a great measure between two seas, they have nothing to fear from the frozen winds nor from the unforeseen variations in the temperature of the air, which at all seasons occasion such frequent and fatal devastations in the neighbourhood. It is therefore to be hoped that the vine, the olive, the cotton tree, and other delicate plants, will prosper there sooner and better than in any of the adjacent provinces. In 1774, the society instituted in London for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and sciences, gave a gold medal to Mr. Strachey, for his having produced as fine indigo as that which comes from Guatemala. Although, in the first paroxysms of enthusiasm, the qualities of this production have been but moderately attended to, yet it will become a source of riches for the colony.

THE soil of East Florida, however, being a great deal too sandy, constantly drove away all men who were desirous of making a rapid fortune. It would scarce have been peopled, except

* About 28,045l. 8s. 3½d.

BOOK
XVIII.

by some extraordinary event. The troubles with which North America hath been agitated, have driven to that commonly barren soil a few peaceful citizens, who had a settled aversion for disputes, and a still greater number of men, who, either from ambition, habit, or prejudice, were devoted to the interest of the mother-country.

THE same inducements have given colonists to the other Florida, which is much more fertile, especially on the pleasant borders of the Mississippi. This province hath had the advantage to furnish Jamaica, and several of the British islands in the West Indies with wood, and with various articles which they formerly received from the several countries of New England. This population would have been still more rapid if the coasts of Pensacola had been more accessible, and if its harbours had been less infested with worms. How greatly might the improvements of the two provinces be accelerated, if the new sovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly pursued, and would condescend to intermarriages with Indian families! And for what reason should this method of civilizing the savage tribes, which has been so successfully employed by the most enlightened politicians, be rejected by a free people, who, from their principles, must admit a greater equality than other nations? Would the English then be still reduced to the cruel alternative of seeing their crops burnt, and their husbandmen massacred, or of persecuting without intermission, and exterminating without pity, those wandering bands of natives?

Ought

Ought they not to prefer to sanguinary and inglorious hostilities, a humane and infallible method of disarming the only enemy that remains to disturb their tranquillity?

BOOK
XVIII.

THE English flatter themselves, that without the assistance of these alliances they shall soon be freed from the little interruption that remains. It is the fate of savage nations, say they, to waste away in proportion as the people of civilized states come to settle among them. Unable to submit to the labour of cultivation, and failing of their usual subsistence from the chase, they are reduced to the necessity of abandoning all those tracts of lands which industry and activity have undertaken to clear. This is actually the case with all the natives bordering on the European settlements. They keep daily retiring further into the woods; they fall back upon the Assenipouals and Hudson's Bay, where they must necessarily incroach upon each other, and in a short time must perish for want of subsistence.

BUT before this total destruction is brought about, events of a very serious nature may occur. We have not yet forgotten the generous Pondiack. That formidable warrior had broken with the English in 1762. Major Roberts, who was employed to reconcile him, sent him a present of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were standing round their chief, shuddered at the sight of this liquor. Not doubting but that it was poisoned, they insisted that he should not accept so suspicious a present. *How can it be,* said their leader, *that a man, who knows my esteem for him, and the signal services I*
have

BOOK
XVIII.

have done him, should entertain a thought of taking away my life? Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the most renowned hero of antiquity.

By many instances of magnanimity similar to this, the eyes of the savage nations had all been fixed upon Pondiack. His design was to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independence. Several unfortunate circumstances concurred to defeat this grand project; but it may be resumed, and it is not impossible that it may succeed. The usurpers would then be under a necessity of protecting their frontier against an enemy, that hath none of those expences to sustain, or evils to dread, which war brings with it among civilized nations; and will find the advantages they have promised themselves from conquests made at the expence of so much treasure and so much blood, considerably retarded at least, if not entirely lost. Should the English disdain an advice dictated to them through me by justice and humanity, may another Pondiack arise from his ashes and consummate his plan.

Extent of
the British
dominions
in North
America.

THE two Floridas, part of Louisiana, and all Canada, obtained at the same æra, either by conquest or treaty, rendered the English masters of all that space which extends from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi; so that without reckoning Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and the other islands of North America, they would have been in possession of the most extensive empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe.


THIS

THIS vast territory is divided from north to south by a chain of high mountains, which alternately receding from and approaching to the coast, leave between them and the ocean a tract of land of a hundred and fifty, two hundred, and sometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond these Apalachian mountains is an immense desert, into which some travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues, without finding an end to it. It is supposed that the rivers at the extremity of these uncultivated regions have a communication with the South-sea. If this conjecture, which is not destitute of probability, should be confirmed by experience, England would unite in her colonies all the branches of communication and commerce of the world. As her territories extend from one American sea to the other, she may be said to join the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports, from all her African settlements, she freights and sends out ships to the New World. From her maritime settlements in the east she would have a direct channel to the West Indies by the Pacific Ocean. She would discover those slips of land, or branches of the sea, the isthmus of the streight, which lies between the northern extremities of Asia and America. By the vast extent of her colonies she would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would secure all the advantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps, by having the empire of all the seas, she might aspire to the supremacy of both worlds. But it is

BOOK
XVIII.

not in the destiny of any single nation to attain such a pitch of greatness. Is then extent of dominion so flattering an object, when conquests are made only to be lost again? Let the Romans speak! Does it constitute power, to possess such a share of the globe, that some part shall always be enlightened by the rays of the sun, if while we reign in one world we are to languish in obscurity in the other? Let the Spaniards answer!

THE English will be happy if they can preserve, by the means of culture and navigation, an empire, which must ever be found too extensive, when it cannot be maintained without bloodshed. But as this is the price, which ambition must always pay for the success of its enterprizes, it is by commerce alone that conquests can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improveable by human industry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general be so low near the sea, that in many parts it is scarcely distinguishable from the top of the mainmast, even after anchoring in fourteen fathom, yet the coast is very easy of access, because the depth diminishes insensibly as you advance. From this circumstance it is easy to determine exactly by the line the distance of the main land. Beside this, the mariner has another sign, which is the appearance of trees, that, seeming to rise out of the sea, form an enchanting object to his view upon a shore, which presents roads and harbours without number,

number, for the reception and preservation of BOOK
XVIII.
shipping. 

THE productions of the earth arise in great abundance from a soil newly cleared; but on the other hand, they are a long time before they come to maturity. Many plants are even so late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while, on our continent, both the fruit and the seed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude. What can be the cause of this phænomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fishery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the shade of these forests grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rotted this species of manure, the summer came on; and nature, left entirely to herself, continued heaping incessantly upon each other these effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long course of time, became accustomed to a long vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to subdue the habit fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the dispositions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate, so long unknown or neglected by mankind, presents them with advantages which supply the defects and ill consequences of that omission.

BOOK
XVIII.Trees peculiar to
North
America.

It produces almost all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has also others peculiar to itself, among which are the sugar maple, and the candleberry myrtle.

THE latter, thus named on account of its produce, is a branching, tortuous shrub, rather irregular, and which delights in a moist soil. It is therefore seldom found at any distance from the sea, or from large rivers. Its leaves, alternately disposed, are narrow, entire, or denticulated, and always covered with small gilded points, which are almost imperceptible. It bears male and female flowers, upon two different plants. The first form a bezil, every scale of which bears six stamina. The second, disposed alike on young sprigs, have, instead of stamina, an ovary, surmounted with styles, which becomes a very small, hard, and spherical shell, which is covered with a granulated, white, and unctuous substance. These fruits, which, together, appear like a bunch of grapes, are gathered at the end of the autumn, and thrown into boiling water. The substance with which they are covered, detaches itself, swims at the top, and is skimmed off. As soon as this is grown cold, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a second time, when it becomes transparent, and acquires an agreeable green colour.

THIS substance, which in quality and consistence is a medium between tallow and wax, supplied the place of both to the first Europeans who landed in this country. The dearth of it has occasioned

occasioned it to be less used, in proportion as the number of domestic animals hath increased. BOOK
XVIII. Nevertheless, as it burns slower than tallow, is less subject to melt, and has not that disagreeable smell, it is still preferred, wherever it can be procured at a moderate price. If it be mixed with a fourth part of tallow, it burns much better, but this is not its only property. It serves to make excellent soap and plaisters for wounds: it is even employed for the purpose of sealing letters. The sugar maple merits no less attention than the candleberry myrtle, as may be conceived from its name.

THIS tree, the nature of which is to flourish by the side of streams, or in marshy places, grows to the height of the oak. Its trunk is straight and cylindrical, and covered with a tolerably thin bark. Its branches, which are always opposite, are covered with leaves disposed in the same manner, which are whitish underneath, and are divided into five acute lobes. Its flowers, collected in clusters, have a calix, with five divisions, charged with as many petals, and eight stamina, which are sometimes abortive. In the center of them is a pistil, which becomes a fruit, composed of two pods, pressed together, and closed at the bottom, open and alated at the top, and filled with a single seed.

IN the month of March, an incision, of the depth of three or four inches, is made at the lower part of the trunk of the maple. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice that flows from it is conveyed into a vessel placed to

BOOK
XVIII.

receive it. The young trees are so full of this liquor, that in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford less, but of much better quality. No more than one incision, or two at most, can be made without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes be applied, it soon dies.

THE sap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to sugar, it is evaporated by fire, till it has acquired the consistence of a thick syrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware, or bark of the birch-tree. The syrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of sugar, almost transparent, and pleasant enough to the taste. To give it a whiteness, flour is sometimes mixed up with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of sugar is used for the same purposes as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of sugar, so that it can be of no great use in trade. Honey is the sugar of the savages of our countries; the maple is the sugar of the savages of America. Nature displays, in all parts, its sweets, and its wonders.

Birds peculiar to
North America.

AMIDST the multitude of birds which inhabit the forests of North America, there is one extremely singular in its kind; this is the humming bird, a species of which, on account of its smallness, is called *l'oiseau mouche*, or the fly bird. Its beak is long and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty.

beauty. Its breast is of a rose colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail are grey, bordered with silver, and streaked with the brightest gold. The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it so delicate a cast, that it resembles a velvet flower, the beauty of which fades on the slightest touch.

B O O K
XVIII.

THE spring is the only season for this charming bird. Its nest, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outside with a grey and greenish moss, and on the inside lined with a very soft down gathered from yellow flowers. This nest is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it, about the size of the smallest peas. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones; but they have never lived more than three weeks or a month at most.

THE humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itself in the calix of the largest flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noise like that of a spinning-wheel. When tired, it lights upon the nearest tree or stake; rests a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithstanding its weakness, it does not appear timid; but will suffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

WHO would imagine, that so diminutive an animal could be malicious, passionate, and quarrelsome? These birds are often seen fighting together with great fury and obstinacy. The strokes they give with their beak are so sudden and so

B O O K
XVIII.

quick, that they are not distinguishable by the eye. Their wings move with such agility, that they seem not to have any kind of motion. They are more heard than seen; and their noise resembles that of a sparrow.

THESE little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves asunder. The precipitation with which they peck it, betrays, as it is said, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the summer, thousands of flowers may be seen stript of all their leaves by the fury of the humming birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of resentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unnecessarily destructive instinct.

EVERY species of beings hath another that is an enemy to it. That of the fly-bird is a large spider, which is very greedy of its eggs. This is the sword which is continually suspended over the tyrant's head.

NORTH AMERICA was formerly devoured by insects. As the air was not then purified, the ground cleared, the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, these little animals destroyed, without opposition, all the productions of nature. None of them were useful to mankind. There is only one at present, which is the bee; but this is supposed to have been carried from the Old to the New World. The savages call it the English fly; and it is only found near the coasts. These circumstances announce it to be of foreign original. The bees fly in numerous swarms through
the

the forests of the New World. Their numbers are continually increasing, and their honey, which is converted to several uses, supplies many persons with food. Their wax becomes daily a considerable branch of trade.

BOOK
XVIII.

THE bee is not the only present which Europe has had it in her power to make to America. She has enriched her also with a breed of domestic animals, for the savages had none. America had not yet associated beasts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither oxen, sheep, and horses. They were all, at first, exposed, as well as man, to epidemical diseases. If the contagion did not attack them, as it did their proud sovereign, in the source even of their generation, several of their species were at least reproduced with much difficulty. All of them, except the hog, lost much of their strength and size. It was not till late, and that only in some places, that they recovered their original properties. Without doubt, it was the climate, the nature of the air, and the soil, which prevented the success of their transplantation. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every animal and vegetable species, to grow and flourish in its native soil. The love of their country seems an ordinance of nature prescribed to all beings, as the desire of preserving their existence.

Europe supplies North America with domestic animals.

YET there are certain correspondences of climate, which form exceptions to the general rule against the transplanting of animals and plants.

European grain hath been cultivated in North America.

When

When the English first landed on the North American continent, the wandering inhabitants of those desolate regions had scarcely arrived at the cultivation of a small quantity of maize, a plant which resembles a reed. Its leaves, which are large, and very long, surround, at their basis, the stem, which is round and knotty at intervals. It is terminated by a panicle of male flowers. Each of the bunches which compose it, hath two flowers, covered with two common scales; and each flower hath three stamina, inclosed between two scales proper to them. At the axilla of the inferior leaves, the female flowers are found, disposed in a very close cluster, upon a thick and fleshy axis, concealed under several coverings. The pistil of these flowers, surrounded with some small scales, and surmounted with a long style, becomes a farinaceous seed, almost spherical, and half sunk into the common axis. Its maturity is known by its colour, and by the separation of the covering, through which the blade of corn may be seen.

THIS species of corn, unknown at that time in Europe, was the only one known in the New World. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The savages contented themselves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground with a stick, and throwing into each of them a single grain, which produced two hundred and fifty or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden or stone mortar, and

and made it into a paste, which they baked under embers. They often ate it roasted merely upon the coals. BOOK
XVIII.

THE maize has many advantages. Its leaves are useful in feeding cattle; a circumstance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, sandy soil, agrees best with this plant. The seed may be frozen in the spring two or three times without impairing the harvest. In short, it is of all plants the one that is least injured by the excess of drought or moisture.

THESE causes, which introduced the cultivation of it in that part of the world, induced the English to preserve and even promote it in their settlements. They sold it to the southern part of Europe, and to the East Indies, and employed it for their own use. They did not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains, all of which succeeded, though not so perfectly as in their native soil. With the superfluity of their harvests, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of their forests, the colonists formed a trade with all the wealthiest and most populous provinces of the New World.

THE mother-country, finding that her northern colonies had supplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would soon become her rivals, even in Europe, at all the markets for salt provisions and corn, endeavoured to divert their industry to objects that might be more useful to her. An opportunity soon presented itself.

THE

BOOK
XVIII.

North A-
merica hath
supplied Eu-
rope with
naval stores.

THE greatest part of the pitch and tar the English wanted for their fleet, used to be furnished by Sweden. In 1703, that state was so blind to its true interest, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the restrictions of an exclusive charter. The first effect of this monopoly was a sudden and considerable increase of price. England, taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged by considerable premiums the importation of all sorts of naval stores which North America could furnish.

THESE rewards did not immediately produce the effect that was expected from them. A bloody war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world, prevented both the mother-country and the colonies from giving to this beginning revolution in commerce, the attention which it merited. The northern nations, which had all the same motives of interest, taking this inaction, which was only occasioned by the hurry of a war, for an absolute proof of inability, thought they might without danger lay every restrictive clause upon the exportation of marine stores, that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this purpose they entered into mutual engagements which were made public in 1718, a time, when all the maritime powers still felt the effects of a war that had continued fourteen years.

ENGLAND was alarmed at so odious a convention. She dispatched to America men of sufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how necessary it was for them to assist the views of the mother-country; and of sufficient experience to direct their

their first attempts towards great objects, without making them pass through those minute details, which quickly extinguish an ardour excited with difficulty. In a very short time, such quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards, and masts, were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that she was enabled to supply the nations around her.

THIS sudden success blinded the British government. The cheapness of the naval stores furnished by the colonies, in comparison of those which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage, which seemed to insure a constant preference. Upon this the ministry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total stop ensued in this branch of trade, and made them sensible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which, though they were not laid so high as formerly, were sufficient to give to the vent of American stores the greatest superiority, at least in England, over those of the northern nations.

THE woods, though they constituted one of the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto been overlooked by the governors of the mother-country. The produce of them had long been exported by the English to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uses. As these traders did not take in return merchandise sufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice

BOOK
XVIII.

practice with the Hamburgers, and even the Dutch, to import on their bottoms the produce of the most fertile climates of Europe. This double trade of export, and carrying the merchandize of other nations, had considerably augmented the British navigation. The parliament, being informed of this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all those duties of importation to which Russian, Swedish, and Danish timber are subject. This first favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the same time that it comprehended every species of wood in general, was principally calculated for those which are employed in ship-building. Unfortunately, the materials of the New World were found to be very inferior in quality to those of the Old; they were, however, employed preferably to the latter by the English navy. England drew its yards and its masts from North America, and was likewise desirous of getting sails and rigging from thence.

THE French Protestants, who, when driven from their country by a prince, become infected with a spirit of bigotry, carried their national industry into all the countries of his enemies, and taught England the value of flax and hemp, two commodities of the utmost importance to a maritime power. Both these plants were cultivated with success in Scotland and Ireland; but the manufactures of the nation were chiefly supplied with them from Russia. To put a stop to this foreign importation, it was proposed to grant a bounty

bounty to North America of 135 livres * for every ton of these articles. This was doing a great deal; and yet so considerable an encouragement had no great success. There were not many lands in that part of the New World which were good enough for a production which prospers only upon an excellent soil. This region abounds more in iron, that metal which is destined to conquer the gold and silver of the south.

THIS most serviceable of metals, so necessary to mankind, was unknown to the Americans, till the Europeans taught them the most fatal use of it, that of making weapons. The English themselves long neglected the iron mines, which nature had lavished on the continent where they were settled. That channel of wealth had been diverted from the mother-country by being clogged with enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines, in concert with those of the coppice woods, which are used in the working of them, had procured imposts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue, and sophistry, these enemies to the public good had stifled a competition, which would have been fatal to their interests. At length the government took the first step towards a right conduct. The importation of American iron into the port of London was granted duty free; but at the same time it was forbidden to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles in-

The iron of North America hath been conveyed into our climates.

BOOK
XVIII.

land. This whimsical restriction continued till 1757. At that time the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance so manifestly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted exclusively to the capital.

THOUGH nothing could be more reasonable than this demand, it met with the strongest opposition. Combinations of interested individuals were formed, to represent, that the hundred and nine forges worked in England, not reckoning those of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thousand tons of iron, and employed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhaustible, would have supplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehension prevailed, that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England consumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of underwood, and that those woods furnished, moreover, bark for the tanneries, and materials for ship-building; and that the American iron, not being proper for steel, for making sharp instruments, or many of the utensils of navigation, would contribute very little to lessen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a stop to the forges of Great Britain.

THESE groundless representations had no weight with the parliament, who saw clearly, that unless the price of the original materials could be lessened, the nation would soon lose the numberless manufactures

manufactures of iron and steel, by which it had so long been enriched; and there was no time to be lost in putting a stop to the progress other nations were making in these works. It was therefore resolved, that the free importation of iron from America should be permitted in all the ports of England. This wise resolution was accompanied with an act of justice. The proprietors of coppices were, by a statute of Henry the Eighth, forbidden to clear their lands; but the parliament took off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make use of their estates as they should think proper.

PREVIOUS to these regulations, Great Britain used to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden, and Russia, ten millions of livres * for the iron she purchased of them. This tribute is greatly lessened, and will still decrease. The ore is found in such quantities in America, and is so easily separated from the ground, that the English did not despair of having it in their power to furnish Portugal, Turkey, Africa, the East Indies, and every country in the world with which they had any commercial connections.

PERHAPS the English might be too sanguine in their representations of the advantages they expected from so many articles of importance to their navy. But it was sufficient for them, if by the assistance of their colonies they could free themselves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe had hitherto kept

* 416,666 L. 13s. 4d.

BOOK
XVIII.

Can it be
expected
that wine
and silk will
prosper in
North Ame-
rica?

them, with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Nothing appeared to them more capable of checking their natural ardour for the empire of the sea, which alone could insure to them the empire of the New World.

AFTER having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, superior to that of every other nation; England has adopted every measure that could contribute to her enjoyment of a species of conquest she had made in America, not so much by the force of her arms as by her industry. In proportion as the settlements, from their natural tendency, advanced from the north to the south, fresh projects and enterprises, suitable to the nature of the soil and of the climate, suggested themselves. To the wood, the grains, and the cattle, which had been the former productions, were added successively, rice, tobacco, indigo, and other riches. The English, who had no wine of their own growth in Europe, resolved to endeavour to procure that also from the New Hemisphere.

UPON the northern continent of North America are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, different in colour, size, and quantity, but all of a sour and disagreeable flavour. It was supposed that good management would give these plants that perfection, which unassisted nature had denied them; and French vine-dressers were invited into a country, where neither public nor private impositions took away their inclination to labour, by depriving them of the fruits of their industry. The repeated experiments

ments they made, both with American and European plants, were all equally unsuccessful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and too difficult to preserve. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moist and hot vapours; the seasons were too unsettled, and the insects too numerous near the forests, to suffer a production to grow up and prosper, of which the English, and all other nations who have it not, are so ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, when this country will furnish a liquor, in the preparation of which most parts of the globe are employed, and the use of which many other parts are so much attached to: but this event will not happen for several centuries, and after several repeated experiments. It is most probable that the harvest of the vine will be preceded by that of silk; the work of that little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digested in its entrails.

A VERY considerable sum of money was annually exported from Great Britain for the purchase of this rich production; it was therefore determined to obtain it from Carolina; which, from the mildness of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry trees, seemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by the government to attract some Switzers into the colony, were yet more successful than could have been expected. Yet the progress of this branch of trade has not been answerable to so promising a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants, who buying only Negro men, from

B O O K
XVIII.



whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who with their children might have been employed in bringing up silk-worms, an occupation suitable to the weakness of that sex, and to the tenderest age. But it ought to have been considered, that men, coming from another hemisphere into a rude uncultivated country, would apply their first care to the cultivation of esculent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate necessity. This is the natural and constant proceeding of well-governed states. From agriculture, which is the source of population, they rise to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nourish commerce, which is the child of industry and parent of wealth. In 1769, the parliament were of opinion that this period was at length arrived; and they granted a bounty of 25 per cent. for seven years on all raw silks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 per cent. for seven years following, and for seven years after that a bounty of 15 per cent. This encouragement would necessarily be followed by the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, and of several other plants. The nation thought, that there are few productions, either of Europe or Asia, which might not be transplanted and cultivated with more or less success on some of the vast countries of North America. Men only were wanting; and no proper precautions were neglected to increase their number.

With what
kind of men
the pro-

The first persons who landed in this desert and savage region were Englishmen, who had been persecuted

persecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

It was not to be expected that this first emigration would be attended with important consequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are so strongly attached to their native soil, that nothing less than civil wars or revolutions can incline those among them, who have any property, character, or industry, to a change of climate and country: for which reason, the re-establishment of public tranquillity in the mother-country was likely to put an insurmountable bar to the progress of American cultivation.

BOOK
XVIII.

places of
North America
were
peopled.

ADD to this, that the English, though naturally active, ambitious, and enterprising, were ill-adapted to the business of clearing the soil of the New World. Accustomed to a quiet life, ease, and many conveniencies, nothing but the enthusiasm of religion or politics could support them under the labours, miseries, wants, and calamities, inseparable from new plantations.

It is further to be observed, that, though England might have been able to overcome these difficulties, she ought not to have wished to do it. Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flourishing, and enriching herself with their productions, was an advantageous prospect to her; but those advantages would be dearly purchased at the expence of her own population.

HAPPILY for her, the intolerent and despotic spirit that prevailed in most countries in Europe, forced numberless victims to take refuge in an un-

cultivated tract, which, in its state of desolation, seemed to implore that assistance for itself which it offered to the unfortunate. These men, who had escaped from the rod of tyranny, in crossing the seas, abandoned all the hopes of return, and attached themselves for ever to a country, which at the same time afforded them an asylum and an easy quiet subsistence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes, particularly from Germany, flocked to partake of it. One of the advantages which the emigrants proposed to themselves was the becoming citizens throughout the whole extent of the British dominions, after a residence of seven years in any of the colonies.

WHILE tyranny and persecution were destroying and exhausting population in Europe, English America was beginning to be filled with three sorts of inhabitants. The first class, which is the most numerous, consists of freemen.

THE Europeans, who over-run and desolate the globe for these three centuries past, have scattered colonies in most of the points of its circumference; and their race hath more or less degenerated every where. The English settlements of North America appeared to have undergone a similar fate. The inhabitants were universally thought to be less robust in labour, less powerful in war, and less adapted to the arts, than their ancestors. Because the care of clearing the lands, of purifying the air, of altering the climate, and of improving nature, had absorbed all the faculties of this people; transplanted under
another

another sky, it was concluded that they were degenerated, and unable to elevate their minds to any complicated speculations.

In order to dispel this fatal prejudice, it became necessary that a Franklin should teach the philosophers of our continent the art of governing the thunder. It was necessary that the pupils of this illustrious man should throw a striking light upon several branches of the natural sciences. It was necessary that eloquence should renew, in that part of the New World, those strong and rapid impressions which it had made in the proudest republics of antiquity. It was necessary that the rights of mankind, and the rights of nations, should be firmly established there, in original writings, which will be the delight and the consolation of the most distant ages.

WORKS of imagination, and of taste, will soon follow those of reasoning and observation. New England will soon perhaps be able to quote its Homer, its Theocritus, and its Sophocles. Neither assistance, nor masters, nor models, are now wanting. Education is diffused, and improves daily. There are, in proportion, more persons well brought up, and they have more leisure for prosecuting the bent of their genius, than men have in Europe, where the education, even of youth, is often contrary to the progress and to the unfolding of genius and of reason.

By a singular contrast with the Old World, in which the arts have passed from the south towards the north, we shall find that in the New World, the north will serve to enlighten the

BOOK
XVIII.

southern parts. Hitherto, the mind as well as the body hath appeared enervated in the West Indies. Men in those parts, endowed with vivacity and early penetration, have a quick conception, but they do not persevere in study, nor do they use themselves to long-continued thought. Most of them have a great facility for acquiring every kind of knowledge, but have no decisive turn for any particular science. As they are forward, and come to maturity before us, they are far from perfection, and we are almost as near to it as we can be. The glory and happiness of producing a change in their dispositions must be the work of English America. But it is necessary that it should take steps conformable to this noble design, and aim, by justice and laudable means, to form a set of people fit for the creation of a New World. This is what hath not yet been done.

THE second class of colonists was formerly composed of malefactors which the mother-country transported, after condemnation, to America, and who were bound to a servitude of seven or fourteen years to the planters who had purchased them from the courts of justice. These corrupt men, always disposed to commit fresh crimes, have at length been universally neglected.

THEY have been replaced by indigent persons, whom the impossibility of subsisting in Europe has driven into the New World. After having bought and sold the Negro, there was but one crime which could go beyond this; this was, to sell one's countryman, without having bought him; and to find

find some person who would buy him; accordingly this has been done. Having embarked without being able to pay for their passage, these wretched men are at the disposal of their captain, who sells them to whom he chuses. This sort of slavery is for a longer or shorter time; but it can never exceed eight years. If among these emigrants there are any who are not of age, their servitude lasts till they arrive at that period, which is fixed at twenty-one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls.

NONE of those who are contracted for have a right to marry without the approbation of their master, who sets what price he chuses on his consent. If any one of them should run away, and be retaken, he is to serve a week for each day's absence, a month for every week, and six months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deserted from his service, may sell him to whom he chuses; but that is only for the term of the first contract. Besides, this service doth not carry any ignominy with it; and the purchaser does all that lies in his power to lessen the stain received by this kind of sale and purchase. At the end of his servitude, the contracted person enjoys all the rights of a free citizen. With his freedom, he receives from the master whom he has served, either implements for husbandry, or utensils proper for his work.

BUT with whatever appearance of justice this species of traffic may be coloured, the greatest part of the strangers who go over to America under these conditions, would never go on board a ship,

BOOK
XVIII.

ship, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland spread themselves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany, which are the best peopled or the least happy. There they set forth with raptures, the delights of the New World, and the fortunes easily acquired in that country. Simple men, seduced by these magnificent promises, blindly follow these infamous brokers, engaged in this scandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amsterdam or Rotterdam. These, who are in the pay of companies who have undertaken to stock the colonies with inhabitants, give a gratuity to the men employed in this service. Whole families are sold, without their knowledge, to masters at a distance, who impose the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and necessity do not permit the sufferers to give a refusal. America acquires its supplies of men for husbandry, as princes do for war, by the same artifices; but with a less honest, and perhaps a more inhuman design; for who knows the number of those who die, or who survive their expectations? The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by carefully suppressing all correspondence with America, which might unveil a mystery of imposture and iniquity, too well disguised by the interested principles which gave rise to it.

BUT, in a word, there would not be so many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppression of government which makes these chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity
of

of the people. Men, unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds, or contemptible at home, have nothing worse to fear in a foreign climate, and easily pursue the prospect of a better lot. The means made use of to retain them in a country where chance has given them birth, are only calculated to excite in them a desire to quit it. It is vainly supposed that they are to be confined by prohibitions, menaces, and punishments: these do but exasperate them, and drive them to desertion by the very forbidding of it. They should be attached by milder means, and by future expectations; whereas they are imprisoned and bound: man, born free, is restrained from attempting to exist in regions, where heaven and earth offer him an asylum. It has been thought better to stifle him in his cradle, than to let him seek for his subsistence in some favourable climate. It is not judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy! these are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights?

Is it then become necessary to lay open to the nations the schemes that are formed against their liberty? Must they be told, that by a conspiracy of the most odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which must deprive even despair itself of every resource? For these two centuries past, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating, in the secret recesses of the cabinet, that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompassed on every side. At every negotiation fresh links were added to the chain so
artificially

B O O K
XVIII.

artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make states more extensive, but subjects more submissive, by gradually substituting military government to the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The several sovereigns have all equally strengthened themselves in their tyranny by their conquests or by their losses. When they were victorious they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the misery of their pusillanimous subjects; if they were either competitors or adversaries from motives of ambition, they entered into league or alliance, only to aggravate the servitude of their people. Whether they meant to excite war or to preserve peace, they were certain of turning to the advantage of their authority, either the aggrandisement or the humiliation of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhausted every other, that they might either recover it, or indemnify themselves for the loss. If they acquired a new one, the haughtiness they affected out of it was the occasion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another, by turns, every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur sometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalry, sometimes to obliterate the character of the nations; as if there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to subject the nations, one by means of another, to the despotism they had constantly been preparing for them. Ye people, who all groan more or less secretly, be not blinded with respect to your condition; those who never entertained

tertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear for you. In the extrêmy of wretchedness one single resource remained for you; that of escape and emigration.—Even that has been shut against you.

PRINCES have agreed among themselves to restore to one another deserters, who, for the most part, enlisted by compulsion or by fraud, have a right to escape; not only villains, who, in reality, ought not to find a refuge any where; but indifferently all their subjects, whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

THUS all ye unhappy labourers, who find neither subsistence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance; thus ye die where ye had the misfortune to be born; ye have no refuge but in the grave. All ye artists and workmen of every species, harassed by monopolies, who are refused the right of working at your own free disposal, unless you have purchased the privileges of your calling: ye who are kept for your whole life in the workshop, for the purpose of enriching a privileged factor: ye whom a court-mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages! never expect to live out of a country where soldiers and guards keep you imprisoned; go, wander in despair, and die of regret. If ye venture to complain, your cries will be re-echoed and lost in the depth of a dungeon; if ye make your escape, ye will be pursued even beyond mountains and rivers: ye will be sent back, or given

BOOK
XV:II.

given up, bound hand and foot, to torture, and to that eternal restraint, to which you have been condemned from your birth. Do you likewise, whom nature has endowed with a free spirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you erase from your minds every idea of truth, nature, and humanity! Applaud every encroachment made on your country and your fellow-citizens, or else maintain a profound silence in the recesses of obscurity and concealment. All ye who were born in those barbarous states, where the condition for the mutual restoration of deserters has been entered into by the several princes, and sealed by a treaty; recollect the inscription Dante has engraven on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, lasciate omai ogni speranza: You who enter here, leave behind you every hope.*

WHAT! is there then no asylum remaining beyond the seas? Will not England open her colonies to those wretches who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the insupportable yoke of their own country? What occasion has she for that infamous band of contracted slaves, seduced and debauched by the shameful means employed by every state to increase their armies? What need has she of those beings still more miserable, of whom she composes another class of her inhabitants?

Yes, by an antiquity, the more shocking as it is apparently the less necessary, the northern provinces have had recourse to the traffic and slavery of the Negroes. It will not be disowned, that
they

they may be better fed, better clothed, less ill-treated, and less overburthened with toil, than in the islands. The laws protect them more effectually, and they seldom become the victims of the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But still, what must be the burthen of a man's life who is condemned to languish in eternal slavery? Some humane sectaries, Christians who look for virtues in the gospel, more than for opinions, have often been desirous of restoring to their slaves that liberty for which they cannot receive any adequate compensation; but they have been a long time withheld by a law, which directed that an assignment of a sufficiency for subsistence should be made to those who were set at liberty.

LET us rather say, they have been prevented from doing this by the convenient custom of being waited on by slaves; by the fondness they have for power, which they attempt to justify by pretending to alleviate their servitude; and by the opinion so readily entertained that the slaves do not complain of a state, which is by time changed into nature: these are the sophisms of self-love, calculated to appease the clamours of conscience. The generality of mankind are not born with evil dispositions, or prone to do ill by choice; but even among those whom nature seems to have formed just and good, there are but few who possess a soul sufficiently disinterested, courageous, and great, to do any good action, if they must sacrifice some advantage for it.

BOOK
XVIII.

BUT still the quakers have lately set an example which ought to make an epocha in the history of religion and humanity. In one of their assemblies, where every one of the faithful, who conceives himself moved by the impulse of the holy spirit, has a right of speaking; one of the brethren, who was himself undoubtedly inspired on this occasion, arose and said: “ How long then
 “ shall we have two consciences, two measures,
 “ two scales! one in our own favour, one for the
 “ ruin of our neighbour, both equally false? Is it
 “ for us, brethren, to complain at this moment,
 “ that the parliament of England wishes to en-
 “ slave us, and to impose upon us the yoke of
 “ subjects, without leaving us the rights of ci-
 “ tizens; while for this century past, we have
 “ been calmly acting the part of tyrants, by
 “ keeping in bonds of the hardest slavery men
 “ who are our equals and our brethren? What
 “ have those unhappy men done to us, whom
 “ nature hath separated from us by barriers so for-
 “ midable, whom our avarice has sought after
 “ through storms and wrecks, and brought away
 “ from the midst of their burning sands, or from
 “ their dark forests inhabited by tygers? What
 “ crime have they been guilty of, that they
 “ should be torn from a country which fed them
 “ without toil, and that they should be trans-
 “ planted by us to a land where they perish under
 “ the labours of servitude? Father of Heaven,
 “ what family hast thou then created, in which
 “ the elder born, after having seized on the pro-
 “ perty of their brethren, are still resolved to
 “ compel

“ compel them with stripes, to manure with the
 “ blood of their veins and the sweat of their brow
 “ that very inheritance of which they have been
 “ robbed? Deplorable race, whom we render
 “ brutes to tyrannize over them; in whom we
 “ extinguish every power of the soul, to load
 “ their limbs and their bodies with burthens; in
 “ whom we efface the image of God and the
 “ stamp of manhood. A race mutilated and
 “ dishonoured as to the faculties of mind and
 “ body, throughout its existence, by us who are
 “ Christians and Englishmen! Englishmen, ye
 “ people favoured by Heaven, and respected on
 “ the seas, would ye be free and tyrants at the
 “ same instant? No, brethren! it is time we
 “ should be consistent with ourselves. Let us set
 “ free those miserable victims of our pride: let
 “ us restore the Negroes to that liberty which
 “ man should never take from man. May all
 “ Christian societies be induced, by our example,
 “ to repair an injustice authorised by the crimes
 “ and plunders of two centuries! May men too
 “ long degraded, at length raise to Heaven their
 “ arms freed from chains, and their eyes bathed
 “ in tears of gratitude! Alas! these unhappy
 “ mortals have hitherto shed no tears but those
 “ of despair!”

THIS discourse awakened remorse, and the
 small number of slaves who belonged to the
 Quakers were set at liberty. If the fetters of
 these unfortunate people were not broken by the
 other colonists of North America, yet Pennsyl-
 vania, New Jersey, and Virginia, warmly soli-

BOOK
XVIII.

cited that this infamous traffic of men should be prohibited. Every colony of this vast continent appeared disposed to follow this example; but they were prevented by an order from the mother-country to its delegates, to reject every proposal tending to this humane project. This cruel prohibition would not have been surprising, if it had come from those countries which are as deep sunk in barbarism by the shackles of vice, as they have formerly been by those of ignorance. When a government, both sacerdotal and military, has brought every thing, even the opinions of men, under its yoke; when man, become an impostor, has persuaded the armed multitude, that he holds from Heaven the right of oppressing the earth, there is no shadow of liberty left for civilized nations. Why should they not take their revenge on the people of the torrid zone? But I shall never comprehend by what fatality that legislation, which is the most happily planned of any that hath ever existed, hath been capable of preferring the interest of a few of its merchants, to the dictates of nature, of reason, and of virtue.

To what degree the population of North America hath arisen,

THE population of North America consists of four hundred thousand Negroes, and of two millions five or six hundred thousand white people, if the calculations of congress be not exaggerated. The number of citizens doubles every fifteen or sixteen years, in some of those provinces, and every eighteen or twenty years in others. So rapid an increase must have two sources; the first is, that a number of Irishmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers,

Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in search of peace and quietness in these distant climates. The second source of that amazing increase arises from the climate itself of the colonies, where experience has shewn that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five-and-twenty years. The observations of Mr. Franklin will make these truths evident.

BOOK
XVIII.

THE numbers of the people, says that philosopher, increase every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increases as the means of subsisting a family are rendered more easy. In a country where the means of subsistence abound, more people marry early. In a society, whose prosperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich, alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, engage as late as possible in a state, which is difficult to enter into, and expensive to maintain; and the persons who have no fortunes, pass their days in a celibacy which disturbs the married state. The masters have but few children, the servants have none at all; and the artisans are afraid of having any. This circumstance is so evident, especially in great towns, that the population in them is not kept up to its usual standard, and that we constantly find there a greater number of deaths than births. Happily for us this decrease has not yet penetrated into the country, where the constant

B O O K
XVIII.

practice of making up the deficiency of the towns, gives a little more scope for population. But the lands being every where occupied, and let at the highest rate, those who cannot acquire property of their own, are hired by those who are in possession of it. Competition, which arises from the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour, and the smallness of profit takes away the desire and the hope of, as well as the abilities requisite for, increase by marriage. Such is the present state of Europe.

THAT of America presents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waste and uncultivated, are either given away, or may be obtained for so moderate a price, that a man of the least turn for labour is furnished in a short time with an extent, which, while it is sufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his posterity for a considerable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the New World, marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life, than the inhabitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter into the married state in Europe, there are two hundred in America; and if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we should allow, at least, eight in the New Hemisphere. If we multiply these families by their produce, it will appear that in less than two centuries North America will arrive at an immense degree of population, unless its natural progress should be impeded by obstacles which it is not possible to foresee.

It

It is now peopled with healthy and robust men, of a stature above the common size. These Creoles come to their full growth sooner than the Europeans, but do not live so long. The inhabitants are supplied with great plenty of every thing requisite for food, by the low price of meat, fish, grain, game, fruits, cyder, and vegetables. Clothing is not so easily procured, that being still very dear, whether it be brought from Europe or made in the country. Manners are in the state they should be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, who are not yet polished nor corrupted by residing in great cities. Throughout the families in general, there reigns œconomy, neatness, and regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the passions of indolent opulence, seldom interrupt that happy tranquillity. The female sex are still what they should be, gentle, modest, compassionate, and useful; they are in possession of those virtues which perpetuate the empire of their charms. The men are engaged in their first occupations, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the support of their posterity. One general sentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union so much as a certain equality of station, a security that arises from property, hope, and a general facility of increasing it; in a word, nothing contributes to it so much as the reciprocal independence in which all men live, with respect to their wants, joined to the necessity of social connections for the purposes of their pleasures. Instead of luxury, which

BOOK
XVIII.

Manners
prevailing at
present in
North America.

BOOK
XVIII.

brings misery in its train, instead of this afflicting and shocking contrast, an universal ease, wisely dealt out in the original distribution of the lands, has by the influence of industry given rise in every breast to the mutual desire of pleasing; a desire, without doubt, more satisfactory than the secret disposition to injure our brethren, which is inseparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without satisfaction, when they are neither in that state of mutual distance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalry which borders on hatred. They come nearer together and unite in societies; in short, it is in the colonies that men lead such a rural life as was the original destination of mankind, best suited to the health and increase of the species: probably they enjoy all the happiness consistent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there those graces, those talents, those refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which wear out and fatigue the springs of the soul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy which so naturally follow the disgust arising from sensual enjoyment; but there are the pleasures of domestic life, the mutual attachments of parents and children, and conjugal love, that passion so pure and so delicious to the soul that can taste it, and despise all other gratifications. This is the enchanting prospect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida and Virginia, even in the forests of Canada, that men are enabled to continue to love during their whole life what was the object of their first affection, that

that innocence and virtue, which never entirely lose their beauty.

B O O K
XVIII.

If there be any circumstance wanting to the happiness of British America, it is that of forming one entire nation. Families are there found sometimes reunited, sometimes dispersed, originating from all the different countries of Europe. These colonists, in whatever spot chance or discernment may have placed them, all preserve, with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother-tongue, the partialities and the customs of their own country. Separate schools and churches hinder them from mixing with the hospitable people who afforded them a place of refuge. Still more estranged from this people by worship, by manners, and probably by their feelings, they harbour seeds of dissension that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preservative against this disaster depends entirely on the conduct of the governments they belong to.

By governments must not be understood those strange constitutions of Europe, which are an absurd mixture of sacred and profane laws. English America was wise or happy enough not to admit any ecclesiastical power: being from the beginning inhabited by Presbyterians, she rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs which in the other parts of the globe are determined by the ecclesiastical courts, are here brought before the civil magistrate, or the national assemblies. The attempts made by the members of the English church to establish their

Nature of
the govern-
ments esta-
blished in
North Ame-
rica.

BOOK
XVIII.

hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithstanding the support given them by the mother-country: but still they are equally concerned in the administration as well as those of other sects. None but Catholics have been excluded, on account of their refusing those oaths which the public tranquillity seemed to require. In this view American government has deserved the greatest commendation; but in other respects it is not so well regulated.

POLICY, in its aim and principal object, resembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and should be in several respects similar to each other. Savage people, first united in society, require, as much as children, to be sometimes led on by gentle means, and sometimes restrained by compulsion. For want of experience, which alone forms our reason, as these savages are incapable of governing themselves in the several changes of things and the various concerns that belong to a rising society, the government that conducts them should itself be enlightened, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Thus it is that barbarous nations are naturally subject to the oppressive yoke of despotic power, till in the advanced state of society their interests teach them to connect themselves.

CIVILIZED nations, like young men, more or less advanced, not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as soon as they become sensible of their own strength and right, require to be managed and even attended

tended to by their governors. A son well educated should engage in no undertaking without consulting his father: a prince, on the contrary, should make no regulations without consulting his people: further, the son, in resolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing but his own happiness; in all that a prince ordains, the happiness of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and speaks, is the rule of the government: and the prince should never thwart that opinion without public reasons, nor oppose it without having first convinced the people of their error. Government is to model all its forms according to public opinion: this, it is well known, varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may, without finding the least resistance, do an act of authority, not to be revived by his successor, without exciting the public indignation. From whence does this difference arise? The first cannot have thwarted an opinion that was not sprung up in his time, but the latter may have openly counteracted it a century after. The first, if I may be allowed the expression, may, without the knowledge of the public, have taken a step, the violence of which he may have softened or made amends for by the happy success of his government; the other shall, perhaps, have increased the public calamities by such unjust acts of wilful authority, as may perpetuate its first abuses. Public remonstrance is generally the result of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government; and

BOOK
XVIII.

and because the public opinion governs mankind, kings, for this reason, become the rulers of men. Governments then, as well as opinions, ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened people? It is the permanent interest of society, the safety and advantage of the nation. This interest is modified by the turn of events and situations; public opinion and the form of the government follow these several modifications. This is the source of all the forms of government, established by the English, who are rational and free, throughout North America.

THE government of Nova-Scotia, of one of the provinces in New England, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, is styled royal; because the king of England is there invested with the supreme authority. Representatives of the people form a house of commons, as in the mother-country: a select council, approved by the king, intended to support the prerogatives of the crown, represents the house of peers, and maintains that representation by the fortune and rank of the most distinguished persons in the country, who are members of it. A governor convenes, prorogues, and dissolves their assemblies; gives or refuses assent to their deliberations, which receive from his approbation the force of law, till the king, to whom they are transmitted, has rejected them.

THE second kind of government which takes place in the colonies, is known by the name of proprietary government. When the English first

settled on those distant regions, a rapacious and active court-favourite easily obtained in those wastes, which were as large as kingdoms, a property and authority without bounds. A bow and a few skins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchased for a man in power the right of sovereignty, or of governing at pleasure in an unknown country: such was the origin of government in the greater part of the colonies. At present, Maryland and Pennsylvania are the only provinces under this singular form of government, or rather this singular foundation of sovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs from the rest of the provinces only by receiving its governor from the family of Baltimore, whose nomination is to be approved by the king. In Pennsylvania the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not supported by a council, which gives a kind of superiority, and he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally vested all authority.

A THIRD form, styled by the English charter government, seems more calculated to produce harmony in the constitution. At present this subsists only in Connecticut and Rhode-Island; but it was formerly extended to all the provinces in New England. It may be considered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themselves elect and depose all their officers, and make whatever laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the assent of the king, or his having any right to annul them.

AT

At length the conquest of Canada, joined to the acquisition of Florida, has given rise to a form of legislation hitherto unknown throughout the realm of Great Britain. Those provinces have been put or left under the yoke of military, and consequently absolute authority. Without any right to assemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every order of government.

THIS diversity of governments is not the work of the mother-country. We do not find in it the traces of a reasonable, uniform, and regular legislation. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times, and of the founders of the colonies, that have produced this motley variety of constitutions. It is not the province of men, who are cast by chance upon a desert coast, to constitute legislation.

ALL legislation, in its nature, should aim at the happiness of society. The means by which it is to attain this great end, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to say, the sky and the soil, are the first rule for the legislator. His resources dictate to him his duties. In the first instance, the local position should be consulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coast, will have laws more or less relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the sea or land may have on the subsistence of the inhabitants who are to people that desert coast. If the new colony be led by the course of some large river far within land, a legislator

lator ought to have regard to the quality of the soil and the degree of its fertility, as well as to the connections the colony will have either at home or abroad by the traffic of commodities most conducive to its prosperity.

B O O K
XVIII.

BUT the wisdom of legislation will chiefly appear in the distribution of property. It is a general rule, which obtains in all countries, that when a colony is founded, an extent of land be given to every person sufficient for the maintenance of a family: more should be given to those who have abilities to make the necessary advances towards improvement; and some should be reserved for posterity, or for additional settlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

THE first object of a rising colony is subsistence and population: the next is the prosperity likely to flow from these two sources. To avoid occasions of war, whether offensive or defensive; to turn industry towards those objects which are most advantageous; not to form connections around them, except such as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the stability which the colony acquires by the numbers of its inhabitants and the nature of its resources; to introduce, above all things, a partial and local spirit in a nation which is going to be established, a spirit of union within, and of peace without; to refer every institution to a distant but fixed point; and to make every occasional law subservient to the settled regulation which alone is to effect an increase of numbers, and to give stability to the settle-

B O O K settlement: these circumstances make no more
XVIII. than a sketch of a legislation.

THE moral system is to be formed on the nature of the climate; a large field for population is at first to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends upon the facility of procuring subsistence. Sanctity of manners should be established by opinion. In a barbarous island, which is to be stocked with children, no more would be necessary than to leave the principles of truth to unfold themselves with the natural progress of reason. By proper precautions against those idle fears which proceed from ignorance, the errors of superstition should be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural passions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, dissipates every phantom. But when people already advanced in life are to be established in a new country, the ability of legislation consists in removing every injurious opinion or habit which may be cured or corrected. If we wish that these should not be transmitted to posterity, we should attend to the second generation, by instituting a general and public education of the children. A prince or legislator should never found a colony, without previously sending thither some proper persons for the education of youth; that is, some governors rather than teachers: for it is of less moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education is ineffectual, when the people are already corrupted. The seeds of morality and virtue, sown in the infant state of a generation

generation already vitiated, are annihilated in the early stages of manhood by debauchery, and the contagion of such vices as have already become habitual in society. The best educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements and forming connections, which will wholly influence them during the remainder of their lives. If they marry, follow any profession or pursuit, they find the seeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition; a conduct entirely opposite to their principles; example and discourse which disconcerts and combats their best resolutions.

BUT in a rising colony, the influence of the first generation may be corrected by the manners of the succeeding one. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The necessities of life remove all vices proceeding from want of employment. The overflowing of its population hath a natural tendency towards the mother-country, where luxury continually invites and seduces the rich and voluptuous planter. A legislator, who intends to refine the constitution and manners of a colony, will meet with every assistance he can require. If he be only possessed of abilities and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage, will suggest to his mind a plan of society, that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheses that are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumstances too difficult to be foreseen and combined.

BUT

BOOK
XVIII.

BUT the chief basis of a society for cultivation or commerce, is property. It is the seed of good and evil, natural or moral, consequent on the social state. Every nation seems to be divided into two irreconcilable parties. The rich and the poor, the men of property and the hirelings; that is to say, masters and slaves, form two classes of citizens, unfortunately, in opposition to one another. In vain have some modern authors wished by sophistry to establish a treaty of peace between these two states. The rich on all occasions are disposed to obtain a great deal from the poor at little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to set too high a value on their labour: while the rich man must always give the law in this too unequal bargain. Hence arises the system of counterpoise established in so many countries. The people have not wished to attack property which they considered as sacred, but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check its natural tendency to universal power. These counterpoises have almost always been ill-applied, as they were but a feeble remedy against the original evil in society. It is then to the repartition of lands that a legislator will turn his principal attention. The more wisely that distribution shall be managed, the more simple, uniform, and exact will be those laws of the country which chiefly conduce to the preservation of property.

THE English colonies partake, in this respect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient constitution of the mother-country. As its present government

vernment is but a reformation of that feudal system which had oppressed all Europe, it still retains many usages, which being originally nothing more than abuses of servitude, are still more sensibly felt by their contrast with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found necessary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility, to those which modify, lessen, abrogate, or soften the feudal rights. Hence so many laws of exception for one original law; so many of interpretation for one fundamental; so many new laws that are at variance with the old. Hence it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code so diffuse, so perplexed, as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wisest men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed against this disorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been produced by their remonstrances have only served to increase the confusion.

By their dependence and their ignorance, the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digested code, the burden of which oppressed their ancestors: they have added to that obscure heap of materials by every new law that the times, manners, and place could introduce. From this mixture has resulted a chaos the most difficult to put in order; a collection of contradictions that requires much pains to reconcile. Immediately there sprang up a numerous body of lawyers, to prey upon the lands and inhabitants of those new settled climates. The fortune and influence they have acquired in a short time, have brought into

B O O K
XVIII.

subjection to their rapaciousness the valuable class of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, in all the arts and labours most indispensably necessary for every society, but almost singularly essential to a rising community. To the severe evil of chicane, which has fixed itself on the branches, in order to seize on the fruit, has succeeded that of finance, which destroys the heart and the root of the tree.

The coin that has been current in the English colonies in North America.

IN the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the same value as in the mother-country. The scarcity of it soon occasioned a rise of one-third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of specie which came from the Spanish colonies; because it was necessary to transmit that into England in order to pay for the merchandise wanted from thence. This was a gulph that absorbed the circulation in the colonies. It was, however, necessary to establish a mode of exchange; and every province, except Virginia, sought for it in the creation of a paper currency.

THE general government made at first but a moderate use of this expedient; but the disputes with the savages increasing, as well as the wars against Canada, occasioned men of an enterprising spirit to form complicated and extensive projects; and the management of the public treasury was intrusted to rapacious or unskilful hands. This resource was then more freely employed than was proper. In vain were taxes levied at first, in order to pay the interest of the paper, and to take up the paper itself at a stipulated period. New debts were contracted to satisfy fresh wants,

wants, and engagements were generally carried beyond all excess. In Pennsylvania alone, the paper currency of the state preserved unremittingly its entire value. The credit of it was shaken in two or three other colonies, though it was not entirely lost. But in the two Carolinas, and in the four provinces which constitute what is commonly called New England, it fell into such discredit from the multiplicity of it, that it could no longer be circulated at any rate. Massachusetts Bay, which had conquered Cape Breton from the French, received from the mother-country 4,050,000 livres * of indemnification. With this sum they paid off twelve times the value in their paper, and those who received the money thought they had made a very good bargain. The parliament, aware of this mischief, made some attempts to remedy it; but their measures were only very imperfectly successful. It would certainly have been a more effectual step, than any of those which had been invented by either a good or bad policy, to have broken the fetters with which the internal industry, and the external commerce, of so many great settlements were shackled.

THE first colonists who peopled North America applied themselves solely to agriculture. They soon perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted, and they therefore found themselves in a manner compelled to set up some rude manufactures. The interests of

Regulations to which the internal industry and the external trade of North America had been subjected.

* 168,750 l.

B O O K
XVIII.

the mother-country seemed to be affected by this innovation; which was made a matter of parliamentary inquiry, and discussed with all the attention it deserved. There were men bold enough to defend the cause of the colonists. They urged, that as the business of tillage did not employ men all the year, it was tyranny to oblige them to waste in idleness the time which the land did not require: that as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furnish them to the extent of their wants, the preventing them from providing against them by a new species of industry, was in fact reducing them to the greatest distress: in a word, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to enhance the price of all provisions in a rising state, to lessen, or, perhaps, stop the sale of them, and to deter such persons as might intend to settle in it.

THE evidence of these principles was not to be controverted: they were complied with after great debates. The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own clothes themselves, but with such restrictions as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of justice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another on this account was severely prohibited. They were forbidden, under the heaviest penalties, to traffic with each other for wool of any sort, raw or manufactured. However, some manufacturers of hats ventured to break through these restrictions. To put a stop to what was termed a heinous disorderly practice, the parliament had recourse to the mean
and

and cruel expedient of law. A workman was not at liberty to set up for himself till after seven years apprenticeship; a master was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any slave in his work-shop.

B O O K
XVIII.

IRON mines, which seem to put into men's hands the instruments of their own independence, were laid under restrictions still more severe. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough pieces, any where but to the mother-country. Without being provided with crucibles to melt it or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to fashion it, they had still less liberty of converting it into steel.

IMPORTATION was subjected to still further restraints. All foreign vessels, unless in evident distress or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or silver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even English vessels were not admitted there, unless they came immediately from some port of the country. The ships of the colonies going to Europe, were to bring back no merchandise but from the mother-country. Every thing was included in this proscription, except wine from the Madeiras, the Azores, and the Canaries, and salt for the fisheries.

ALL exportations were originally to terminate in England: but important reasons determined the government to relax and abate this extreme severity. The colonists were allowed to carry directly south of Cape Finisterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, salt fish, planks, and timber. All other productions were reserved for

B O O K
XVIII.

the mother-country. Even Ireland, which afforded an advantageous mart for corn, flax, and pipe-staves, has been shut against them by an act of parliament.

THE parliament, which represents the nation, assumed the right of directing commerce in its whole extent throughout the British dominions. It is by this authority it pretends to regulate the connections between the mother-country and the colonies, to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal re-action between the scattered parts of an immense empire. There should, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the concerns that may be useful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole society. The parliament is the only body that can assume such an important power. But it ought to employ it to the advantage of every member of society. This is an inviolable maxim, especially in a state where all the powers are formed and directed for the preservation of national liberty.

THAT principle of impartiality was unattended to, which alone can maintain an equal state of independence among the several members of a free government; when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother-country all their productions, even those which were not for their own consumption; when they were obliged to take from the mother-country all kinds of merchandise, even those which came from foreign nations. This imperious and useless restraint, loading the sales and purchases of the Americans with unnecessary

cessary and ruinous charges, has necessarily lessened their industry, and consequently diminished their profits; and it has been only for the purpose of enriching a few merchants, or some factors at home, that the rights and interests of the colonies have thus been sacrificed. All they owed to England for the protection they received from her, was only a preference in the sale and importation of all such of their commodities as she should consume; and a preference in the purchase and in the exportation of all such merchandise as came from her hands: so far all submission was a return of gratitude: beyond it all obligation was violence.

Thus it is that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Transgression is the first effect produced by unreasonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that smuggling was contrary to the fundamental interest of their settlements, to all reason of government, and to the express intentions of law. In vain has it been continually laid down in public writings, that the subject who pays duty is oppressed by him who does not pay it; and that the fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader by disappointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing such frauds, and fresh penalties inflicted for the punishment of them. The voice of interest, reason, and equity, has prevailed over all the numberless clamours and various attempts of finance. Foreign importations smuggled into North Ame-

B O O K rica, amount to one-third of those which pay
XVIII. duty.

AN indefinite liberty, or merely restrained within proper limits, would have put a stop to the prohibited engagements of which so much complaint had been made. Then the colonies would have arrived to a state of affluence, which would have enabled them to discharge a load of debt due to the mother-country, amounting to one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty millions of livres*. They would then have drawn from thence annually goods to the amount of forty-five millions of livres†, the sum to which their wants had been raised in the most successful periods. But instead of having their destiny alleviated, as they were incessantly demanding, these great settlements saw themselves threatened with a tax.

Distressed
 state of
 England in
 1763.

ENGLAND had just emerged from a long and bloody war, during which her fleets had been victorious in all the seas, and her conquests had enlarged her dominions, already too extensive, with an immense acquisition of territory in the East and West Indies. This splendour might perhaps externally dazzle the nations; but the country was continually obliged to lament its acquisitions and its triumphs. Oppressed with a load of debt to the amount of 3,330,000,000 of livres‡, that cost her an interest of 111,577,490 livres || a year; she was scarce able to support

* From 5,000,000 l. to 5,416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

† 1,875,000 l.

‡ 138,750,000 l.

|| 4,649,062 l. 1 s. 8 d.

the necessary expences of the state, with a revenue of 130,000,000 of livres *; and that revenue was so far from increasing, that it was not even certain it would continue.

B O O K
XVIII.

THE lands were charged with a heavier tax than had ever been imposed in time of peace. New duties were laid on houses and windows; and the controul of the acts was oppressive on all kinds of property. Wine, plate, cards, dice, and every thing, which was considered as an object of luxury or amusement, paid more than it could have been thought possible. To compensate for the sacrifice which had been made for the preservation of the citizens; by prohibiting spirituous liquors, duties were laid on the ordinary drink of the common people, on malt, cyder, and beer. The ports dispatched nothing for foreign kingdoms, and received nothing from them, but what was loaded with duties, both of export and import. Materials and workmanship had so prodigiously risen in price in Great Britain, that her merchants were supplanted even in the countries where they had not till then met with any competitors. The commercial profits of England with every part of the world, did not amount annually to more than 56,000,000 livres †; but of this balance 35,000,000 livres ‡ were to be deducted, to pay the arrears of the sums which foreigners had placed in the public funds.

THE springs of the state were all strained. The muscles of the body politic being in a state of ex-

* 5,416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. † 2,333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

‡ 1,458,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

B O O K
XVIII.

treme tension, were in some measure thrown out of their place. The crisis was a violent one. The people should have been allowed time to recover. They could not be eased by a diminution of expences; for those made by government were necessary, either for the purpose of improving the conquests, purchased at the price of so much blood and treasure, or to restrain the resentment of the house of Bourbon, irritated by the humiliations of the late war and the sacrifices of the late peace. As other means did not occur, which might secure the present as well as future prosperity of the nation, it was thought proper to call in the colonies to the aid of the mother-country. These views were prudent and just.

England
calls its
colonies to
its assist-
ance.

THE members of a confederate body must all of them contribute to its defence and its splendour, in proportion to their respective abilities; as it is only by public strength that each class is enabled to preserve the entire and peaceful enjoyments of its possessions. The poor are certainly less interested in this than the wealthy; but yet their tranquillity is concerned in it, in the first place, and in the second place, the national riches, which they are called upon to share by their industry. There can be no social principle more evident, and yet the infringement of it is the most ordinary of all political faults. From whence can arise this perpetual contradiction between the conviction and the conduct of government?

It arises from the fault of the legislative power, in exaggerating the means for maintaining the public

lic

lic strength, and in employing for its own caprices ^{B O O K} part of the funds destined for this purpose. ^{XVIII.} The wealth of the merchant and of the farmer, and the subsistence of the poor, taken from them in the country places and in the towns in the name of the state, and prostituted in the courts to the purposes of interest and vice, are employed to increase the pomp of a number of men, who flatter, detest, and corrupt their master; or pass into still baser hands than these, to pay for the scandal and shame of his pleasures. These treasures are lavished for a parade of grandeur, the vain decoration of those who can have no real grandeur; and for festivals, the resource of idleness, unable to exert itself, in the midst of the cares and labours which the government of an empire would require. A portion of them, it is true, is given to the public wants; but these, from incapacity or inattention, are applied without judgment as without oeconomy. Authority deceived, and disdainng even to endeavour to be otherwise, admits of an unjust distribution of the tax, and of a mode of collecting it, which is itself an additional oppression. Then every patriotic sentiment becomes extinct. A war is excited between the prince and his subjects. Those who levy the revenues of the state, appear nothing but the enemies of the citizen. He defends his fortune from the impost, as he would defend it from incroachment. Every thing which cunning can take from power appears a lawful gain; and the subjects, corrupted by the government, make use of reprisals against a master who plunders them.

They

BOOK
XVIII.

They do not perceive that, in this unequal conflict, they are themselves both dupes and victims. The insatiable and eager treasury, less satisfied with what is given to them than irritated for what is refused, persecutes every individual delinquent by a variety of means. They join activity to interest; and vexations are multiplied. They go under the denomination of punishment and justice; and the monster, who reduces to poverty all those whom he prosecutes, returns thanks to Heaven for the number of culprits whom he punishes, and for the multiplicity of offences by which he enriches himself. Happy is the sovereign who, to prevent so many abuses, would not disdain to give his people an exact account of the manner in which all the sums he had required of them were employed. But this sovereign hath not yet appeared; nor indeed will he ever appear. Nevertheless, the debt due by the protected person to the state which protects him, is equally necessary and sacred; and has been acknowledged by all people. The English colonies of North America had not disavowed this obligation; and the British ministry had never applied to them without obtaining the assistance they solicited.

BUT these were gifts and not taxes, since the grant was preceded by free and public deliberations in the assemblies of each settlement. The mother-country had been engaged in expensive and cruel wars. Tumultuous and enterprising parliaments had disturbed its tranquillity. It had a set of bold and corrupt ministers, unfortunately inclined to raise the authority of the throne

throne on the ruin of all the powers and all the rights of the people. Revolutions had succeeded each other, while the idea had never suggested itself, of attacking a custom, confirmed by two centuries of fortunate experience. BOOK
XVIII.

THE provinces of the New World were accustomed to consider as a right this mode of furnishing their contingent in men and money. Whether this claim had been doubtful or erroneous, prudence would have required that it should not have been too openly attacked. The art of maintaining authority is a delicate one, which requires more circumspection than is generally thought. Those who govern, are perhaps too much accustomed to despise men. They consider them as slaves, bowed down by nature, whereas they are only so by habit. If they be oppressed with a fresh weight, take care lest they should rise up again with fury. Let it not be forgotten, that the lever of power hath no other support but that of opinion; and that the strength of those who govern, is really nothing more than the strength of those who suffer themselves to be governed. Let not the people, who are diverted by their employments, or who sleep in their chains, be instructed to pry into truths which are too formidable for government; and when they obey, let them not be made to recollect that they have the right to command. As soon as the instant of this terrible alarm shall arrive; as soon as they shall think that they are not made for their chiefs, but that their chiefs are made for them; as soon as they

B O O K
XVIII.

they shall have been able to collect together, and to hear each other unanimously exclaim, *We will not have this law, the custom is displeasing to us*; there is then no alternative left, but either to submit or to punish, to be weak or to be tyrants; and from that time the authority of government being detested or despised, whatever measures they may take, they will have nothing to expect from the people but open insolence or concealed hatred.

THE first duty of a prudent administration is therefore to respect the prevailing opinions of a country; for opinions are the kind of property to which the people are more attached than even to that of their fortune. It may indeed endeavour to rectify them by knowledge, or alter them by persuasion, if they should be prejudicial to the strength of the state. But it is not allowable to contradict them without necessity; and there never was any to reject the system adopted by North America.

In fact, whether the several countries of the New World were authorized, as they wished to do, to send representatives to parliament, in order to deliberate with their fellow-citizens on the exigences of the British empire; or whether they continued to examine within themselves what contribution it was convenient for them to grant; the treasury could not have experienced any embarrassment from either of these modes. In the first instance, the remonstrances of their deputies would have been lost in the multitude, and the provinces would have been legally charged with part of the burden intended

intended for them to bear. In the second, the ministry disposing of the dignities, of the employments, of the pensions, and even of the elections, would not have experienced more opposition to their will in the other hemisphere, than they do in this. BOOK
XVIII.

BUT the maxims which were holden sacred in America, had some other foundation beside prejudice. The people relied upon the nature of their charters; they relied still more firmly upon the right which every English citizen hath, not to be taxed without his consent, or that of his representatives. This right, which ought to belong to all people, since it is founded on the eternal code of reason, was traced to its origin as far back as the reign of Edward I. Since that period, the English never lost sight of it. In peace and in war, under the dominion of ferocious kings, as well as under that of weak monarchs, in times of slavery as in periods of anarchy, they never ceased to claim it. The English, under the Tudors, were seen to abandon their most valuable rights, and to deliver up their defenceless heads to the stroke of the tyrant, but they were never seen to renounce the right of taxing themselves. It was in defence of this right that they shed torrents of blood, that they dethroned or punished their kings. Finally, at the revolution of 1688, this right was solemnly acknowledged by the famous act, in which liberty, with the same hand that she was expelling a despotic king, was drawing the conditions of the contract between the nation and the new sovereign they had just chosen.

chosen. This prerogative of the people, much more sacred undoubtedly than so many imaginary rights which superstition hath endeavoured to sanctify in tyrants, was at once in England the instrument and the bulwark of its liberty. The nation thought and perceived that this was the only dike which could for ever put a stop to despotism; that the moment which deprives a people of this privilege condemns them to oppression, and that the funds, raised apparently for their safety, are employed sooner or later to ruin them. The English, when they founded their colonies, had carried these principles beyond the seas, and the same ideas were transmitted to their posterity.

ALAS! if in those countries even of Europe, where slavery seems for a long time to have taken up its residence in the midst of vices, of riches, and of the arts; where the despotism of armies maintains the despotism of courts; where man, fettered from his cradle, and bound by the twofold bands of superstition and policy, hath never breathed the air of liberty; if, even in those countries, persons who have reflected once in their lives on the destiny of states, cannot avoid the adopting of these maxims, and envying the fortunate nation which hath contrived to make them the foundation and the basis of its constitution; how much more must the English, the children of America, be attached to them; they who have received this intelligence from their ancestors, and who know at what price they have purchased it? Even the soil they inhabit must keep
up

up in them a sentiment favourable to these ideas. BOOK
XVIII.
 Dispersed over an immense continent, free as nature, which surrounds them, amidst the rocks, the mountains, the vast plains of their deserts, and on the skirts of those forests, where every thing is still wild, and where nothing calls to mind neither the servitude nor the tyranny of man, they seem to receive from natural objects lessons of liberty and independence. Besides, these people, who are almost all of them devoted to agriculture, to commerce, and to useful labours, which elevate and strengthen the mind by giving simplicity to the manners, who have been hitherto as far removed from riches as from poverty, cannot yet be corrupted either by an excess of luxury or by a multiplicity of wants. It is this state more especially, that man who enjoys liberty can maintain it, and can shew himself jealous of defending an hereditary right which seems to be the sure guarantee of all the other rights. Such was the resolution of the Americans.

WHETHER the British ministry were yet unacquainted with these dispositions, or whether they hoped that their delegates would succeed in altering them, they however embraced the opportunity of a glorious peace to exact a forced contribution from the colonies. For let it be well observed, that a war, whether fortunate or unfortunate, serves always as a pretence to the usurpations of government, as if the views of the chiefs of the belligerent powers were less to conquer their enemies than to enslave their subjects.

England exacts from her colonies what she ought only to have afforded of them.

BOOK
XVIII.

The year 1764 gave birth to the famous stamp act, which forbade the admission into the tribunals of any claim which had not been written upon paper stamped and sold for the benefit of the treasury.

THE English provinces of the North of America were all incensed at this usurpation of their most valuable and most sacred rights. By unanimous consent they refused to consume what was furnished them by the mother-country, till this illegal and oppressive bill was withdrawn. The women, whose weakness might have been feared, were the most eager in sacrificing what served for their ornament, and the men, animated by this example, gave up on their parts other enjoyments. Many cultivators quitted the plough, in order to accustom themselves to the work of manufactures; and the woollen, linen, and cotton, coarsely wrought, were bought up at the price that was previously given for the finest clothes and most beautiful stuffs.

THIS kind of combination surprised the government, and their anxiety was increased by the clamours of the merchants who found no market for their goods. These discontents were supported by the enemies of the ministry, and the stamp act was repealed after two years of a commotion, which in other times would have kindled a civil war.

BUT the triumph of the colonies was of short duration. The parliament, which had retracted only with extreme reluctance, ordained in 1767, that the revenue which they had not been able to obtain

obtain by means of the stamp, should be collected by the glass, the lead, the paste-board, the colours, the figured paper, and the tea, which were conveyed from England to America. The people of the northern continent were not less incensed with this innovation than with the former. In vain was it represented to them, that no one could contest with Great Britain the power of settling upon her exports such duties as were suitable to her interests; since she did not deprive her establishments beyond the seas of the liberty of manufacturing themselves the commodities which were subjected to the new taxes. This subterfuge appeared a mark of derision to men, who, being merely cultivators, and compelled to have no communication except with the mother-country, could neither procure for themselves by their own industry, nor by foreign connections, the articles that were taxed. Whether the tribute were paid in the Old or in the New World, they understood that the name made no alteration in the thing, and that their liberty would be no less attacked in this manner than it had been in the former, which had been repulsed with success. The colonists saw clearly that the government meant to deceive them, and they would not be imposed upon. These political sophisms appeared to them as they really are, the mask of tyranny.

NATIONS in general are more adapted to feel than to think. Most of them have never thought of analyzing the nature of the power which governs them. They obey without reflection, and

B O O K
XVIII.

because they are in the habit of obeying. The origin and object of the first national associations being unknown to them, every resistance to their will appears to them a crime. It is chiefly in those states where the principles of legislation are blended with those of religion, that this error was common. The habit of believing is favourable to the habit of suffering. Man doth not renounce with impunity one single object. It seems as if nature avenged herself of him who ventures thus to degrade her. This servile disposition of the soul extends to every thing; it makes a duty of resignation as of meanness, and respecting every chain that binds it, trembles to enter into an examination of the laws as well as of the tenets. In the same manner as one single extravagance in religious opinions, is sufficient to induce minds that are once deceived to adopt numberless others, so the first usurpation of government opens the door to all the rest. He who believes the most believes also the least, and he who can exert the most power can exert also the least. It is by this double abuse of credulity and of authority, that all the absurdities in matters of religion and politics have been introduced in the world to crush mankind. Accordingly, the first signal of liberty among the nations hath excited them to shake off these two yokes at once, and the period in which the human mind began to discuss the abuses of the church and of the clergy, is that when reason became at length sensible of the rights of the people, and when courage endeavoured to fix the first limits to despotism. The principles of toleration

eration and of liberty established in the English colonies, had made them a people very different from others. There it was known what the dignity of man was ; and when it was violated by the British ministry, it necessarily followed, that a people, composed entirely of citizens, should rise against this attempt.

B O O K
XVIII.

THREE years elapsed, and none of the taxes which had so much offended the Americans were yet levied. This was something, but it was not all that was expected from men jealous of their prerogatives. They wanted a general and formal renunciation of what had been illegally ordained, and this satisfaction was granted to them in 1770. The tea only was excepted. The intent indeed of this reserve, was merely to palliate the disgrace of giving up entirely the superiority of the mother-country over its colonies, for this duty was not more exacted than the others had been.

THE ministry, deceived by their delegates, certainly imagined that the dispositions of the people were altered in the New World, when in 1773 they ordered the tax on the tea to be levied.

England, after having given way, wishes to be obeyed by its colonies. Measures which they take to resist its authority.

AT this news the indignation became general throughout North America. In some provinces, thanks were decreed to those navigators who had refused to take any of this article on board. In others, the merchants to whom it was addressed refused to receive it. In one place, whoever sold it was declared an enemy to his country ; in another, the same mark of ignominy was bestowed upon those who should keep it in their warehouses. Several districts solemnly renounced the

use of this liquor, and a greater number of them burnt all the tea they had remaining, which had hitherto been in such high estimation among them. The tea sent to this part of the globe was valued at five or six millions of livres*, and not a single chest of it was landed. Boston was the chief scene of this insurrection. Its inhabitants destroyed in the harbour three cargoes of tea, which had arrived from Europe.

THIS great city had always appeared more attentive to their rights than the rest of America. The least attempt against their privileges was repulsed without discretion. This resistance, sometimes accompanied with troubles, had for some years past disturbed the government. The ministry, who had some motives of revenge to gratify, too hastily seized upon the circumstance of this blameable excess, and demanded of the parliament a severe punishment.

MODERATE people wished that the guilty city should be condemned to furnish an indemnity proportioned to the damage done in its harbour, and which it deserved for not having punished this act of violence. This penalty was judged too slight, and on the 13th of March 1774, a bill was passed which shut up the port of Boston, and which forbade that any thing should be carried there.

THE court of London congratulated itself upon this rigorous law, and doubted not but that it would bring the Bostonians to that spirit of servi-

* From 208,333l. 6s. 8d. to 250,000l.

tude with which it had been hitherto attempted in vain to inspire them. If, contrary to every appearance, these bold men should persevere in their pretensions, their neighbours would eagerly avail themselves of the prohibition thrown upon the principal port of the colonies. At the worst, the other colonies which had been for a long time jealous of that of Massachusetts Bay, would abandon it with indifference to its melancholy fate, and would collect the immense trade which these misfortunes would cause to flow in upon them. In this manner the union of the several settlements, which, in the opinion of the mother-country, had for some years past acquired too much consistence, would be broken.

THE expectations of the ministry were in general frustrated. An act of rigour sometimes strikes awe. The people who have murmured while the storm was only preparing at a distance, submit when it comes to fall upon them. It is then that they weigh the advantages and disadvantages of resistance, that they measure their strength with that of their oppressors; it is then that a panic terror seizes those which have every thing to lose and nothing to gain; that they raise their voices, that they intimidate, and that they bribe; that division is excited in the minds of men, and that society is divided between two factions which irritate each other, which sometimes take up arms and slay each other in the view of their tyrants, who behold with complacency and satisfaction the effusion of their blood. But tyrants scarcely find any accomplices unless among people already

G g 4

corrupt.

BOOK
XVIII.

corrupt. It is vice which gives them confederates among those whom they oppress. It is effeminacy which takes the alarm, and cannot venture to exchange its tranquillity for honourable dangers. It is the vile ambition of commanding which lends its assistance to despotism, and consents to be a slave for the sake of acquiring dominion, to give up a people in order to divide their spoils, and to renounce the sense of honour in order to obtain honours and titles. It is especially that indifferent and cold personality, the last of the crimes of the people, the last of the vices of governments, for it is government which always gives rise to them; it is government which, from principle, sacrifices a nation to a man, and the happiness of a century and of posterity to the enjoyment of a day and of a moment. All these vices, which are the fruits of an opulent and voluptuous society, of a society grown old and come to its last period, do not belong to recent people engaged in the toils of agriculture. The Americans remained united among themselves. The carrying into execution a bill which they called inhuman, barbarous, and destructive, served only to confirm them in the resolution of supporting their rights with more unanimity and steadiness.

THE minds of men grew more and more exalted at Boston. The cry of liberty was reinforced by that of religion. The churches resounded with the most violent exhortations against England. It was undoubtedly an interesting spectacle for philosophy, to see that in the temples

ples and at the feet of the altars, where superstition had so often blessed the chains of the people, where the priests had so often flattered the tyrants, that liberty should raise its voice to defend the privileges of an oppressed nation; and if we believe that the deity condescends to cast an eye upon the unfortunate contests of mankind, it preferred certainly to see its sanctuary consecrated to this use, and to hear hymns to liberty become part of the worship addressed to it by its ministers. These discourses must have produced a great effect; and when a free people invokes the aid of heaven against oppression, they soon have recourse to arms.

BOOK
XVIII.

THE other inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay disdained even the idea of taking the least advantage of the disasters of the capital. They thought of nothing but tightening the bands which connected them with the Bostonians, and were inclined to bury themselves under the ruins of their common country, rather than suffer the least incroachment upon rights which they had learned to cherish more than life.

ALL the provinces attached themselves to the cause of Boston, and their attachment increased in proportion to the calamities and sufferings of that unfortunate city. Being almost guilty of the same resistance which had been so severely punished, they were sensible that the vengeance of the mother-country against them was only delayed, and that all the grace which the most favoured of them can possibly expect, will be to be the last object of its revenge.

THESE

THESE dispositions to a general insurrection were increased by the act against Boston, which was circulated throughout the continent upon paper edged with black, as an emblem of the mourning of liberty. Anxiety soon communicates from one house to another. The citizens assemble, and converse, in the places. All the presses teem with writings full of eloquence and vigour.

“THE severities of the British parliament against Boston ought to make all the American provinces tremble. They have now only to choose between fire and the sword, between the horrors of death and the yoke of a servile and base obedience. The period of an important revolution is at length arrived, the fortunate or unfortunate success of which will forever determine the regret or admiration of posterity.

“SHALL we be free, or shall we be slaves? It is upon the solution of this great problem, that the destiny of three millions of men will depend for the present and for the future, the happiness or misery of their numberless descendants.

“ROUSE yourselves up, therefore, O you Americans! for the regions you inhabit were never covered with such dreadful clouds; you are called rebels, because you will be taxed only by your representatives. Justify this claim by your courage, or seal the loss of it with your blood.

“IT

“ It is no longer time to deliberate, when the
 “ hand of the oppressor is incessantly at work in
 “ forging chains for you ; silence would be a
 “ crime, and inaction infamy. The preservation
 “ of the rights of the republic, that is the su-
 “ preme law. He would be the lowest of slaves,
 “ who, in the danger which now threatens the
 “ liberty of America, would not exert his utmost
 “ efforts to preserve it.”

SUCH was the general disposition : but the most important object, and the most difficult matter to effect in the midst of the general tumult, was to bring about a calm, by means of which a harmony of inclinations might be produced, which might give dignity, strength, and consistence to the resolutions. It is this kind of harmony, which, from a number of loose and scattered parts, all of them easily broken, composes one complete whole, which it is impossible to subdue, unless one can succeed in dividing it either by strength or by policy. The necessity of this great union was perceived by the provinces of New Hampshire, of Massachuset's Bay, of Rhode Island, of Connecticut, of New York, of New Jersey, of the three counties of the Delaware, of Pennsylvania, of Maryland, of Virginia, and of the two Carolinas. These twelve colonies, to which Georgia hath since acceded, sent deputies to Philadelphia in the month of September 1774, who were appointed to defend their rights and their interests.

THE disputes between the mother-country and its colonies acquired at this period a degree of importance

BOOK
XV. II.

importance which they had not had before. It was no more a few individuals who opposed a stubborn resistance to imperious masters. It was the struggle between one body of men and another, between the congress of America and the parliament of England, between one nation and another. The resolutions taken on each side inflamed the minds of men still more and more, and increased the animosity. Every hope of reconciliation was dissipated. The sword was drawn on both sides; Great Britain sent troops into the New World, and this other hemisphere prepared for its defence. Its citizens became soldiers. The materials for the conflagration are collected, and the fire will soon break out.

GENERAL Gage, who commanded the royal troops, sent a detachment from Boston on the night of the 18th of August 1775, with orders to destroy a magazine of arms and provisions collected by the Americans at Concord. This detachment met with some militia at Lexington, whom they dispersed without much difficulty, continued their march with rapidity, and executed the orders they had received. But they had scarcely resumed the road to the capital, before they were assailed in a space of fifteen miles by a furious multitude whom they destroyed, and by whom they were also slain. The blood of Englishmen, so often spilt in England by the hands of Englishmen, was now spilt in America, and the civil war was begun.

MORE regular engagements were fought upon the same field of battle in the ensuing months.

Warren

Warren was the victim of these destructive and unnatural actions. The congress did honour to his remains. BOOK
XVIII.

“HE is not dead,” said the orator; “this excellent citizen shall not die. His memory will be eternally present, eternally dear to all good men, to all lovers of their country. He hath displayed, in the limited career of a life of thirty-three years, the talents of a statesman, the virtues of a senator, and the soul of a hero.

“ALL you who are animated with the same interest, approach the bloody corse of Warren. Bathe his honourable wounds with your tears; but do not remain too long over this inanimate body. Return to your habitations to inspire a detestation of the crime of tyranny. Let the hair of your children start upon their heads at this horrible representation; let their eyes sparkle, let their brows become threatening, and let their voices express their indignation; then you will give them arms, and your last wish will be, that they may either return conquerors, or perish like Warren.”

THE troubles with which Massachusets's Bay was agitated, were extended to the other provinces. The transactions were not indeed bloody in them, because there were no British troops; but in all parts the Americans seized upon the forts, the arms, and the provisions; they expelled their chiefs and the other agents of government, and ill-treated the inhabitants who appeared to favour the cause of the mother-country. Some enterprising men carried their boldness so far as to seize

BOOK
XVIII.

seize upon the works formerly erected by the French near Lake Champlain, between New England and Canada, and even made an irruption into that vast region.

WHILE private individuals, or separate districts, were so usefully serving the common cause, the congress was employed in the care of assembling an army, the command of which was given to George Washington, a native of Virginia, and known by a few successful actions in the preceding wars. The new general immediately flew to Massachusetts's Bay, drove the royal troops from one post to another, and compelled them to shut themselves up in Boston. Six thousand of his old soldiers, who had escaped the sword, sickness, and every other kind of distress, pressed either by hunger or by the enemy, embarked on the 24th of March 1776, with a precipitation which had all the appearance of flight. They went to seek an asylum in Nova Scotia, which, as well as Florida, had remained faithful to its former masters.

The colonies had a right to separate themselves from their mother-country, even if they had no cause of discontent.

THIS success was the first step of English America towards the revolution. It began to be openly wished for, and the principles which justified it were universally diffused. These principles, which originated in Europe, and particularly in England, had been transplanted by philosophy into America. The knowledge of the mother-country was turned against itself, and it was said:

ONE must be very careful not to confound societies and government with each other. Let us investigate their origin in order to distinguish them.

MAN,

MAN, thrown upon the globe as it were by chance, surrounded with all the evils of nature, obliged to defend and protect his life against the storms and hurricanes of the air, against the inundations of the waters, against the fires and the conflagrations of volcanos, against the intemperature of the zones, either torrid or frozen, against the barrenness of the earth, which refuses to yield him any subsistence, or against its unfortunate fertility, which produces poisons under his feet, against the teeth of ferocious animals, who dispute with him his abode and his prey, and, by combating him themselves, seem to intend to acquire the dominion of the globe, of which he thinks himself the master: man, in this state alone, and abandoned to himself, could do nothing for his own preservation. It was therefore necessary, that he should unite and associate with his fellow-creatures, in order to make a common stock of their strength and understanding. It is by this union that he hath been able to triumph over so many evils, that he hath fashioned the globe to his own use, kept the rivers within their boundaries, subdued the seas, insured his subsistence, conquered one part of the animals by compelling them to serve him, and driven away the rest to a distance from his empire, in the midst of deserts or of forests, where their numbers diminish from one century to another. Men, united among themselves, have carried into execution what one man alone could never have accomplished, and they all together concur in

9

preserving

preserving their work. Such is the origin, such are the advantages and the end of society.

GOVERNMENT owes its rise to the necessity of preventing, and of repelling, the injuries which the associates had to fear from each other. It is the centinel who watches to prevent the common labours from being disturbed.

SOCIETY hath therefore arisen from the necessities of mankind, and government owes its origin to their vices. Society always tends to good; government ought always to tend towards repressing evil. Society is the first, and in its origin independent and free; government hath been instituted for it, and is only its instrument. The former has the right of commanding, the latter must obey. Society hath created public strength, and government, which hath received it from its hands, ought to consecrate it entirely to its use. In a word, society is essentially good; government, as it is well known, may be, and is but too often bad.

It hath been said, that we were all born equals; but that is not true. That we had all the same rights: I do not know what rights are, where there is an inequality of talents and of strength, and no guarantee nor sanction. That Nature hath offered to us all the same habitation and the same resources; that is not true. That we were indiscriminately endowed with the same means of defence; that is not true: nor do I know in what sense it can be true that we enjoy the same qualities of body and of mind.

THERE is an original inequality between men which nothing can remedy. It must last for ever; and all that can be obtained from the best legislation will not be to destroy it, but to prevent its abuses.

BUT hath not Nature herself produced the seeds of tyranny, by dealing with her children like a stepmother, and by creating some children weak, and others strong? It is scarce possible to deny this, especially if we go back to a period previous to all legislation, when we shall see men as passionate and as unreasonable as brutes.

WHAT views then can the founders of nations and the legislators have had? To obviate all the disasters of this detested principle, by a kind of artificial equality, which should subject the members of a society, without exception, to one single impartial authority. It is a sword which is indiscriminately suspended over every head; but this sword was only ideal. It was necessary that some hand, some natural being, should hold it.

THE result of this hath been, that the history of civilized man is nothing more than the history of his misery. All the pages of it are stained with blood, some with that of the oppressors, the rest with that of the oppressed.

IN this point of view, man appears more wicked and more unfortunate than animals. The different species of animals subsist at the expence of each other; but the societies of men have never ceased to attack each other. There is no condition in the same society, which doth not either devour, or hath not itself devoured, what-

BOOK
XVIII.

ever may have been, or whatever may be the form of government, or of artificial equality, which hath been opposed to the primitive or natural inequality.

BUT these forms of government, freely chosen by our forefathers, whatever sanction they may have received, either from oath, or from unanimous consent, or from permanency, are they to be considered as binding to their descendents? Certainly not: and it is impossible that you, Englishmen, who have successively undergone so many different revolutions in your political constitution; who have been driven from monarchy to tyranny; from tyranny to aristocracy, from aristocracy to democracy, and from democracy to anarchy, it is impossible, I say, that you can think differently from me, without accusing yourselves of rebellion and perjury.

WE examine things as philosophers; and it is well known that our speculations have not occasioned civil wars. No subjects are more patient than we are. I shall therefore pursue my object without any apprehension for the consequences. If people be happy under their form of government, they will maintain it. If they be wretched, it will be neither your opinion nor mine, but the impossibility of suffering any more, or for any longer time, which will determine them to change. A salutary commotion, which the oppressor will call revolt, though it be no more than the legal exercise of an unalienable and natural right of the man who is oppressed, and even of him who is not oppressed,

MAN has a will and a choice of his own; but he can neither have a will nor a choice for another; and it would be an extravagance to exercise his will and his choice for him who is not yet born, for him who will not exist for many centuries after. There is no individual who hath not a right to seek elsewhere a better form of government, if he be dissatisfied with that of his own country. There is no society which hath not the same liberty of altering its own form of government, as its ancestors had to adopt it. Upon this point, societies are in the same state as in the first instant of their civilization. It would be a great evil if it were not so; and indeed in that case there could be no remedy against the greatest of all evils. Millions of men must have been condemned to endless misfortune. It will therefore be admitted in conformity to my principles,

THAT there is no form of government, the prerogative of which is to be immutable.

THAT there is no political authority, created either yesterday or a thousand years ago, which cannot be abrogated, either ten years hence, or to-morrow.

WHOEVER thinks otherwise is a slave; he is the idolater of the works of his own hands.

WHOEVER thinks otherwise is a madman, who devotes himself, as well as his family, his children, and his children's children, to everlasting misery, by granting to his ancestors the right of stipulating for him when he was not in being, and by arrogating to himself the right of stipulating

BOOK
XVIII.

lating for his descendents, who are not yet in being.

ALL authority in this world hath begun either by the consent of the subjects, or by the strength of the master. It may be legally put a stop to in either of the cases. There is nothing which favours tyranny against liberty.

THE truth of these principles is the more essential, as every power tends by its nature to despotism, even in that nation which is the most jealous of its rights, even in England.

I HAVE heard a Whig say, that as long as a bad sovereign, or at least a bad minister, could not be sent to Tyburn with as little formality, parade, tumult, and surprise, as the most obscure malefactor, the nation would never either have a proper idea, nor the full enjoyment of its rights, in a manner suitable to a people who venture to think, and to call themselves a free people. This man was perhaps a fanatic; but madmen sometimes utter words of profound sense. Nevertheless, an administration which you yourselves own to be ignorant, corrupt, and audacious, shall imperiously precipitate you with impunity into the deepest abyss of misfortune.

THE quantity of specie circulating among you is not very considerable. You are overburdened with paper-currency, under every denomination. All the gold of Europe, heaped up in your treasury, would be scarce sufficient to pay off your national debt. It is not known by what kind of incredible illusion this fictitious coin is kept up. The most trifling event may in a moment bring it into discredit.

credit. One single alarm is sufficient to induce a sudden bankruptcy. The dreadful consequences of this breach of faith are beyond our imagination. And this is the moment which hath been chosen to make you declare against your colonies; that is to say, to involve yourselves in an unjust, senseless, and ruinous war. What will become of you, when one important branch of your commerce shall be annihilated; when you shall have lost one third of your possessions; when you shall have massacred one or two millions of your fellow-citizens; when your strength shall be exhausted, your merchants ruined, your manufacturers reduced to perish for want; when your debt shall be increased, and your revenue diminished? Beware! the blood of the Americans will sooner or later fall upon your own heads. Its effusion will be revenged by your own hands; and the moment is at hand.

But, you say, they are rebels. - - - Why are they so? Because they will not be your slaves? A people who are subject to the will of another, who can dispose at pleasure of their government, of their laws, and of their commerce, who can tax them according to their own fancy, limit their industry, and fetter it by arbitrary prohibitions, are slaves, and their servitude is worse than that which they would experience under a tyrant; because a tyrant may be got rid of, either by expulsion or by assassination. Both these acts have been done by you. But a nation can neither be put to death nor expelled. Liberty can be expected only from a rupture, the consequence

B. O. O. R.
XVIII.

of which must be the ruin of one or the other of the nations, and sometimes of both. A tyrant is a monster with only one head, which may be stricken off at a blow. A despotic nation is a hydra with a thousand heads, which can only be smitten off by a thousand swords at once. The crime of the oppression exercised by a tyrant excites universal indignation against himself alone. The same crime, committed by a numerous society, spreads the horror and the shame of it amongst a multitude, which is never ashamed. It is the crime of every body, and of no body; and the sentiment of misguided despair knows not upon what object to fix its resentment.

But they are our subjects. - - - Your subjects! not more than the inhabitants of the province of Wales are the subjects of the county of Lancaster. The authority of one nation over another can only be founded upon conquest, upon general consent, or upon proposed and accepted conditions. Conquest is no more binding than robbery. The consent of ancestors cannot compel descendants; and no conditions can be consistent with the sacrifice of liberty. Liberty cannot be bartered for any thing, because no equivalent can be given for it. This is the speech you have made to your tyrants, and we now address it to you in favour of your colonists.

The land which they occupy is ours. - - - Yours! It is thus you call it, because you have invaded it. But supposing it be so, doth not the charter of concession oblige you to treat the Americans as your countrymen? and do you comply with
this

this obligation? But to what purpose are concessions and charters, which grant what one is not master of, and which consequently one hath no right of granting to a small number of feeble men, compelled by circumstances to receive as a gratuity what they have a natural right to? Besides, have the descendants, who are now alive, been invited to accede to a compact, signed by their ancestors? The truth of this principle must be acknowledged, or the descendants of James must be recalled. What right was there to drive him away, which we had not equally to separate from you? say the Americans. And what answer can be made to them?

They are ungrateful; we are their founders; we have been their defenders; we have indebted ourselves for them - - - For yourselves, you may say, as much, or more than for them. If you have defended them, it is in the same manner as you would have defended the Sultan of Constantinople, if your ambition or your interest had required it. But have they not repaid this obligation, by delivering to you their productions, by exclusively receiving your merchandise, at the exorbitant price you have chosen to put upon it; by submitting to the prohibitions, which thwarted their industry, and to the restrictions with which you have oppressed their property? Have they not assisted you, and indebted themselves for you? Have they not taken up arms, and fought for you? Have they not acceded to your demands, when you have made them in a manner suitable to freemen? When have they

ever refused you any thing, unless when presenting your bayonets to their breasts, you have said to them, *Your treasure, or your life; die, or be our slaves.* What! because you have been beneficent, have you the right to become oppressors? Will the nations also convert their expectations of gratitude into a barbarous pretence to disgrace and insult those who have had the misfortune to receive their benefits? Individuals, perhaps, though it be not their duty, may in their benefactors bear with their tyrants. In them, undoubtedly, it is great, it is magnanimous, to consent to be unhappy, rather than be ungrateful. But the system of morality among nations is different. The public felicity is the first law, as it is the first duty. The primary obligation of these great bodies is towards themselves. They owe, above all things, liberty and justice to those who compose them. Every child who is born in a state, every citizen who comes to breathe the air of a country which he hath chosen for himself, or which nature hath given him, has a right to the greatest degree of happiness he can possibly enjoy. Every obligation which cannot be reconciled with that principle is void. Every contrary claim is an encroachment upon his rights. Of what concern is it to him, if his ancestors have been favoured, when he himself is destined to be the victim? By what right can we exact the payment of this usurious debt of benefits, which he hath not even experienced? No. To arrogate to one's self a similar claim, against a whole nation and its posterity,

city, is to subvert all the ideas of order and policy; it is to betray all the laws of morality, while we invoke their countenance. What hath not England done for Hanover? But is Hanover subject to your command? All the republics of Greece were connected with each other by mutual services: Did any one of them exact, as a token of gratitude, the right of disposing of the administration of the republic that had received the obligation?

But our honour is compromised. - - - Say rather, the honour of your bad ministers, and not your own. In what consists the real honour of him who is in an error? Is it to persist in it, or to acknowledge it? The man who returns to sentiments of justice hath no occasion to be ashamed, Englishmen, you have been too precipitate. Why did you not wait till riches had corrupted the Americans, as you are corrupted? Then they would have been as little concerned for their liberty as you for yours. Then, subdued by wealth, your arms would have been useless. But you have attacked them in an instant, when what they had to lose, liberty, could not be balanced by what they had to preserve.

But in later times they would have become still more numerous. - - - I acknowledge it. You have therefore only attempted the enslaving of a people, whom time would have set free in spite of you. In twenty or thirty years, the remembrance of your atrocious deeds will be recent: and the fruit of them will be taken away from you: then, nothing but shame and remorse will remain to you.

There

BOOK
XVIII.

There is a decree of nature which you cannot change; it is, that great bodies always give law to smaller ones. But if the Americans should then undertake against Great Britain what you have undertaken against them, would you not say to them exactly what they say to you at this instant? Wherefore should motives which affect you but little, coming from them, appear more solid when coming from you?

They will neither obey our parliament, nor adopt our constitution. - - - Have they made, or can they change them?

We obey them without having had, either in past times, or without having at present, any influence over them. - - - That is to say, that you are slaves, and that you cannot suffer freemen. Nevertheless, do not confound the position of the Americans with yours. You have representatives, and they have none; you have voices which speak for you, and no one stipulates for them. If the voices be bought and sold, this is an excellent reason for them to disclaim this advantage.

They would be independent of us. - - - Are not you so of them?

They will never be able to support themselves without us. - - - If that be the case, keep quiet; necessity will bring them back to you.

But what if we could not subsist without them? - - - This would be a great misfortune: but to cut their throats, in order to prevent it, is a singular expedient.

It is for their interest, it is for their good, that we are angry with them, as we are with children who behave

behave improperly. - - - Their interest and their good! Who hath appointed you the judges of these two points which touch them so nearly, and which they ought to know better than you? If it should happen that a citizen should enter by force into the house of another, upon a pretence that he was a man of great understanding, and that no one was more capable of maintaining good order and peace at his neighbour's house; would not his neighbour have a right to desire him to withdraw, and concern himself about his own affairs? But what shall we say if the affairs of this officious hypocrite were much in disorder? If he were nothing more than an ambitious man, who, under pretence of governing, wanted to usurp; if under the mask of benevolence he concealed only views full of injustice, such, for instance, as the endeavour to relieve his own difficulties at the expence of his fellow-citizens?

BOOK
XVIII.

We are the mother-country.—What, are the most sacred names always to serve as veils to ambition and to interest? If you be the mother-country, fulfil the duties of it. Moreover, the colony is formed of different nations, among whom some will grant and others will refuse you this title. While all of them will say to you at once, there is a time when the authority of parents over their children is to cease, and this time is that when children can provide for themselves. What term have you fixed for our emancipation? Be honest, and confess you flattered yourselves that you should have kept us under perpetual tutelage. This tutelage however might be sup-
portable,

portable, if it were not changed for us into an unbearable constraint; if our advantage were not incessantly sacrificed to yours; if we were not obliged to suffer a multitude of oppressions in detail from the governors, the judges, the financiers, and the military men whom you send to us; if most of them at their arrival in our climates did not bring with them degraded characters, ruined fortunes, rapacious hands; and the insolence of subaltern tyrants, who, tired with obeying the laws in their own country, come to indemnify themselves in a New World, by exercising there a power which is too frequently arbitrary. You are the mother-country, but far from encouraging our progress, you stand in awe of it. You confine our industry, and you counteract our rising strength. Nature, in favouring us, disappoints your secret wishes; or rather, it is your desire that she should remain in a state of eternal infancy, with respect to every thing that may be useful to us; and notwithstanding this, that we should still be robust slaves to serve you, and incessantly to supply your avidity with new sources of wealth. Is this being a mother? Is this being our country? Alas! in the forests that surround us, Nature hath bestowed a milder instinct on the wild beast, who, when she is become a mother, doth not at least devour those to whom she hath given birth.

If we agreed to all their pretensions, they would soon be happier than we are.—And why not? If you be corrupted, why should they be so? If you incline to slavery, must they also imitate your example?

ample? If you were their master, why should you not confer the property of another power to your sovereign? Why should you not make him your despot, as you have declared him by a solemn act the despot of Canada? Must they then have ratified this extravagant concession? and if they had ratified it, must they have obeyed the sovereign you would have given them? and must they have taken up arms against you in obedience to his orders? The king of England hath a negative power. No law can be enacted there without his consent. This power, the inconvenience of which you daily experience, why should the Americans grant it to him among themselves? Would it be to deprive him of it one day by taking up arms, as it will happen to you if your government should be improved? What advantage can you find in subjecting them to a vicious constitution?

Vicious or not, this constitution is ours, and it must be generally acknowledged and accepted by all who bear the English name; otherwise, each of our provinces governing itself in its own way, having its own laws, and pretending to independence, we should cease to form a national body, and should be nothing more than a collection of small insulated republics divided, incessantly at war with each other, and easily invaded by a common enemy. The sagacious and powerful Philip, capable of undertaking this enterprise, is near us.

SUPPOSING him to be near you, he is at a distance from the Americans. A privilege which may be attended with some inconvenience to you,

you, is not the less a privilege. But, separated as they are from Great Britain, by immense seas, of what concern is it to you whether your colonies accept or reject your constitutions? What has this to do either for or against your strength, or for or against your security? That unity, of which you exaggerate the advantages, is also nothing more than a vain pretence. You urge your laws to them when they are oppressed by them, and you trample upon them yourselves when they appeal to them in their favour. You tax yourselves, and you want to tax them. When the least incroachment is attempted upon this privilege, you exclaim with rage, you take up arms, and you are ready to devote yourselves to death, and yet you put the poniard to the throat of your fellow-citizen to compel him to renounce it. Your ports are open to all nations, and you shut up those of the colonists from them. Your merchandise is conveyed to all parts where you choose to send it, and theirs is forced to be sent to you. You manufacture, and you will not suffer them to do the same. They have hides and they have iron, and you compel them to deliver these hides and this iron to you in the rough state. What you get at a low price, they must purchase from you at the price which your rapaciousness exacted. You sacrifice them to your merchants; and because your East India Company was in danger, it was necessary that their losses should be repaired by the Americans. And yet you call them your fellow-citizens, and it is thus you invite them to accept your constitution.

This

This unity, this league, which seems so necessary to you, is nothing more than the league of the foolish animals in the fable, among which you have reserved to yourself the part of the lion.

PERHAPS you have only suffered yourselves to be induced to fill the New World with blood and ravages, merely from a false point of honour. We like to persuade ourselves, that so many enormities have not been the consequence of a project coolly concerted. You have been told, that the Americans were nothing more than a base herd of cowards, whom the least threat would induce with fear and consternation to comply with every thing you chose to exact. Instead of those pusillanimous men, who had been described to you, and whom you had been taught to expect, you met with brave people, true Englishmen, and fellow-citizens worthy of you. Was this a reason for increasing your anger? What I have your ancestors admired the Dutch shaking off the Spanish yoke; and shall you be astonished that your descendants, your countrymen, your brethren, those who felt your blood circulating in their veins, should rather choose to spill it than submit to the yoke, and should prefer death to a life of slavery? A stranger, over whom you would assume the same pretensions, would have disarmed you; if laying bare his breast he had said, *Bury your dagger here, or leave me free.* And yet you murder your brother, and you murder him without remorse, because he is your brother Englishman! what can be more ignominious than the

the ferociousness of a man proud of his liberty, and encroaching upon that of another? Must we be taught to believe, that the greatest enemy of liberty is the man who enjoys it? Alas! we are but too much disposed to believe it. Enemies to kings, you have all their haughtiness. Enemies to the royal prerogative, you display it in all parts. You shew yourselves tyrants every where. Tyrants of nations and of your colonies; if you should prevail in this contest, it is because heaven will have been inattentive to the vows that are addressed to it from all regions of the earth.

SINCE the seas have not swallowed up your proud satellites, tell me what will become of them, if there should arise in the New World an eloquent man, who should promise eternal salvation to those who should perish sword in hand, the martyrs of liberty. Americans, let your priests be incessantly seen in your pulpits, with crowns in their hands, and shewing you the heavens opened. Priests of the New World, it is time to expiate the ancient fanaticism, which hath desolated and ravaged America, by a fanaticism more fortunate, the offspring of politics and of liberty. But you will not deceive your fellow-citizens. God, who is the first principle of justice and of order, abhors tyrants. God hath imprinted in the heart of man the sacred love of liberty, and will not suffer that servitude should degrade and disfigure the most beautiful of his works. If apotheosis be due to man, it is certainly to him who fights and dies for his country. Place his image

in your churches, and put it near your altars. It BOOK
XVIII.
will be the worship of the country. Compose a political and religious calendar, in which every day shall be marked with the name of some one of those heroes who shall have spilt his blood to make you free. Your posterity will read them one day with a holy respect; they will say, these are the names of those who have set half the world at liberty, and who, exerting themselves for our happiness before we existed, have prevented that at our birth we should hear the rattling of chains over our cradles.

WHEN the cause of the colonies was debated in the national assemblies, we have heard many excellent pleadings pronounced in their favour. But perhaps the following would have been the most proper to address to them :

What measures would it have suited England to adopt, when she saw the ferment raised in her colonies.

“ I WILL say nothing to you, Gentlemen, of the
“ justice or injustice of your pretensions. I am
“ not so much a stranger to public affairs, to be ignorant that this preliminary examination, which
“ is sacred in all other circumstances of life, would
“ be improper and ridiculous in this. I will not
“ enter into what expectations you may have of
“ success, nor will I examine whether you will
“ prevail in this cause, although this subject
“ might appear of some importance to you, and
“ might probably engage your attention. Nor
“ will I even compare the advantages of your
“ situation if you should succeed, with the consequences that will follow if you should fail.
“ But I will suppose at once, that you have reduced the colonies to the degree of servitude

B O O K
XVIII.

“ which you require. I only wish to be informed
 “ how you will maintain them in it. Will it be
 “ by a standing army? But this army, which
 “ will exhaust you of men and money, will it
 “ follow or not the increase of population? There
 “ are but two answers to be made to this question,
 “ and of these two answers one seems to me to be
 “ absurd, and the other brings you back to the
 “ situation in which you now are. I have re-
 “ flected much upon the matter, and if I mistake
 “ not, I have discovered the only reasonable
 “ and sure measure you have to pursue. This
 “ is, as soon as you shall have made yourselves
 “ masters of them, to stop the progress of popula-
 “ tion, since it appears to you more advantage-
 “ ous, more honourable, and more proper, to
 “ rule over a small number of slaves, than to
 “ have a nation of freemen for your equals and
 “ friends.

“ But you will ask me, how is the progress of
 “ population to be stopped? The expedient
 “ might perhaps disgust men of weak and pusil-
 “ lanimous minds; but fortunately there are
 “ none such in this august assembly. This ex-
 “ pedient is to put to death, without mercy, the
 “ greatest part of these unworthy rebels, and to
 “ reduce the rest to the condition of Negroes.
 “ The brave and generous Spartans, so celebrated
 “ in ancient and modern history, have set you
 “ the example. Like them, with their faces
 “ muffled up in their cloaks, let our fellow-citi-
 “ zens and satellites go out clandestinely in the
 “ night-time, and massacre the children of our
 “ Helots

“ Helots by the side of their fathers and on the
 “ breasts of their mothers, leaving only a suffi- BOOK
XVIII
 “ cient number of them alive for the labours,
 “ and for our security.”

ENGLISHMEN, you shudder at this horrid proposal, and you ask what measure might be adopted; either conquerors or conquered, this is what you have to do: If the resentment excited by your barbarities can be calmed, if the Americans can shut their eyes upon the ravages that surround them, if when walking over the ruins of their cities reduced to ashes, and of their habitations destroyed, over the bones of their fellow-citizens scattered in the field; if while they breathe the scent of blood which your hands have spilt in all parts, it can be possible that they should forget the enormities of your despotism; if they can allow themselves to put the least trust in your discourses, and can persuade themselves that you have seriously renounced the injustice of your pretensions, begin by recalling the assassins who are in your pay; restore liberty to their ports, which you now keep blocked up; let your vessels depart from their coasts; and if there be a wise citizen among you, let him take an olive branch in his hand, let him present himself to them and say:

“ O you, our fellow-citizens and our old
 “ friends, allow us to use this title; we have
 “ indeed profaned it, but our repentance makes
 “ us worthy of resuming it, and we shall here-
 “ after aspire to the glory of preserving it; we
 “ confess, in the presence of Heaven, and of this
 “ earth,

B O O K
XVIII.

“ earth, which have been witnesses of it, that
 “ our pretensions have been unjust and our pro-
 “ ceedings barbarous. Forget them as we do.
 “ Build up your ramparts and your fortresses.
 “ Assemble yourselves again in your peaceable
 “ habitations. Let us wipe out from our me-
 “ mory even the last drop of blood that has been
 “ spilt. We admire the generous spirit which
 “ hath directed you. It is the same to which, in
 “ similar circumstances, we have owed our salva-
 “ tion. It is particularly by these signs that we
 “ know you to be our fellow-citizens and our
 “ brethren: your wish is liberty, and you shall
 “ be free. You shall be free in all the extent
 “ that we ourselves have attached to this sacred
 “ name. It is not from us that you hold this
 “ right; we can neither give it nor take it away
 “ from you. You have received it as we have,
 “ from nature, which the crime and the sword of
 “ tyrants can fight against but cannot destroy.
 “ We pretend not to any kind of superiority over
 “ you; the honour of aspiring to an equality is
 “ sufficiently glorious for us. We are too well
 “ acquainted with the inestimable advantage of
 “ governing ourselves, to be desirous hereafter of
 “ depriving you of it.

“ MASTERS and supreme arbitrators of your
 “ own legislation, if in your states you can cre-
 “ ate a better form of government than ours is,
 “ we congratulate you previously upon it. Your
 “ happiness will inspire us with no other senti-
 “ ment than the desire of imitating you. Form
 “ for yourselves constitutions adapted to your
 “ climate,

" climate, to your soil, and to the New World, BOOK
XV. II.
 " which you are civilizing. Who can be better
 " acquainted with your own wants than your-
 " selves? Proud and virtuous souls, such as
 " yours are, ought not to obey any laws ex-
 " cept those which they give themselves. Every
 " other yoke would be unworthy of them. Re-
 " gulate your taxes yourselves. We only ask of
 " you to conform to our custom in the levying
 " of the impost. We will present you with a
 " state of our wants, and you will determine
 " yourselves the just proportion between your
 " supplies and your riches.

" MOREOVER, exercise your own industry as
 " we do ours, and that without any restraint.
 " Make the best advantage of the benefits of Na-
 " ture, and of the fertile regions which you in-
 " habit. Let the iron of your mines, the fleeces
 " of your flocks, the skins of the wild animals
 " wandering in your forests, be prepared in your
 " own manufactures, and acquire in your hands
 " an additional value. Let your ports be free.
 " Let your commodities and the productions
 " of your arts be conveyed to all parts of the
 " world, from whence you may also derive all
 " those which you are in want of. This is one
 " of our privileges, let it also be yours. The
 " empire of the ocean, which we have subdued
 " by two centuries of grandeur and glory, belongs
 " to you as well as to us. We will be united
 " by the ties of commerce. You will bring your
 " productions to us, which we will accept in pre-
 " ference to those of all other people, and we
 " hope

B O O K
XVIII.

“ hope that you will prefer ours to those of foreign nations, without however being restrained to it by any law, unless by that of the common interest, and by the title of fellow-citizens and friends.

“ Let your ships and ours, decorated with the same flag, cover the seas, and when these friendly vessels shall meet in the midst of the deserts of the ocean, let shouts of joy be heard on both sides. Let peace be renewed, and let concord last for ever between us. We understand at length, that the chain of reciprocal benevolence is the only one that can connect empires at such a distance, and that every other principle of union would be unjust and precarious.

“ According to this new plan of everlasting friendship, let agriculture, industry, legislation, the arts, and that first of all sciences, that of doing the greatest good to states and to mankind, be improved among us. Let the account of your happiness invite around your dwellings all the unfortunate men upon the face of the earth. Let tyrants of all countries, and all oppressors, whether political or religious, know, that there exists a place upon the earth where one may escape from their chains; where humanity disgraced hath raised its head again; where the harvests grow for the poor; where the laws are no more than the guarantee of happiness; where religion is free, and conscience hath ceased to be a slave; where Nature, in a word, seems to wish to justify

"justify herself for having created man; and
 "where government, for so long a time guilty
 "over all the earth, at length makes ample re-
 "paration for its crimes. Let the idea of such
 "an asylum alarm the despots, and serve as a
 "restraint to them; for if the happiness of man-
 "kind be a matter of indifference to them, they
 "are at least ambitious and avaricious, and are
 "therefore anxious to preserve both their power
 "and their riches.

"We ourselves, O! our fellow-citizens and our
 "friends, we ourselves will profit by your example.
 "If our constitution should be impaired; if pub-
 "lic wealth should corrupt the court, and the court
 "the nation; if our kings, to whom we have
 "given so many terrible lessons, should at length
 "forget them; if we who were an august people,
 "were threatened with becoming the meanest
 "and vilest of all herds by selling ourselves;
 "the sight of your virtues and of your laws might
 "perhaps reanimate us. It would recall to our
 "degraded minds both the value and the gran-
 "deur of liberty; and if this example should be
 "ineffectual; if slavery, the consequence of ve-
 "nal corruption, should one day establish itself
 "in that same country, which hath been de-
 "luged with blood in the cause of liberty, and
 "where our fathers have seen scaffolds erected
 "for tyrants; we will then abandon this un-
 "grateful land devoted to despotism, and we
 "will leave the monster to reign over a desert.
 "You will then receive us as friends and bre-
 "thren. You will partake with us that soil, that
 "air,

B O O K
XVIII.

“ air, as free as the souls of its generous inhabitants; and thanks to your virtues, we shall find England and a country again.

“ SUCH are, brave fellow-citizens, both our hopes and our wishes. Receive therefore our oaths as the pledges of so holy an alliance. Let us invoke, to render this treaty more solemn, let us invoke our common ancestors, who have all been animated with the spirit of liberty as you are, and who have not feared to die in its defence. Let us call to witness the memory of the illustrious founders of your colonies, that of your august legislators, of the philosopher Locke, who was the first man upon earth who made a code of toleration, and of the venerable Penn, who first founded a city of brothers. The souls of these great men, whose eyes are undoubtedly in this moment fixed upon us, are worthy to preside at a treaty which is to secure the peace of two worlds. Let us swear in their presence, and upon those arms with which you have fought us, to remain ever united and faithful; and when we have pronounced all together an oath of peace, then let these same arms be taken up, and let them be conveyed into a sacred deposit, where fathers will shew them to every rising generation: and there let them be kept faithfully from age to age, in order to be one day turned against the first man, whether English or American, who shall dare to propose the breaking off of this alliance, equally useful and equally honourable to both nations.”

At

AT this discourse methinks I hear the cities, ^{B O O K}
 the hamlets, the fields, and all the shores of North ^{XVIII.}
 America, resound with acclamations, and repeating with emotion the name of their English brethren, the name of the mother-country. Joyful fireworks succeed to the conflagrations of discord, and in the mean while, the nations, jealous of your power, will remain silent in astonishment and despair.

THE parliament is going to assemble, and what have we to expect? Will the voice of reason be heard there, or will they persevere in their folly? Will they be the defenders of the people, or the instrument of the tyranny of ministers? Will their acts be the decrees of a free nation, or edicts dictated by the court? I attend at the debates. These revered places resound with harangues full of moderation and wisdom. Soft persuasion seems to flow from the lips of the most distinguished orators. They draw tears from the audience. My heart is elated with hope, when suddenly a voice, the organ of despotism and of war, suspends this delightful emotion.

"ENGLISHMEN," saith this furious declaimer, "can you hesitate one moment? They are your rights, your most important interests; it is the glory of your name which must be defended. These great benefits are not attacked by a foreign power, but threatened by a domestic enemy. The danger is the greater, the outrage more sensibly felt.

"BETWEEN two rival nations in arms for mutual pretensions, policy may sometimes suspend the fight. Against rebellious subjects the
 "greatest

B O O K

XVIII.



" greatest fault is delay. All moderation is
 " weakness. The standard of rebellion was
 " raised by boldness; let it be pulled down by
 " force. Let the sword of justice fall upon
 " those who have unsheathed it. Let us lose no
 " time: to stifle revolutions, there is a first mo-
 " ment which must be seized upon. Let us not
 " leave to astonished minds the leisure to accustom
 " themselves to their crime; to the chiefs, the
 " time to confirm their power; nor to the peo-
 " ple, that of learning to obey new masters.
 " The people in a rebellion are almost always
 " drawn away by some foreign impulse; neither
 " their fury, nor their hatred, nor their attach-
 " ment, belong to them. Their passions are
 " given to them as their weapons. Let us dis-
 " play before their eyes the strength and ma-
 " jesty of the British empire. They will soon fall
 " down at our feet; they will pass on, in an in-
 " stant, from terror to remorse, and from re-
 " morse to obedience. If we must have recourse
 " to the severity of arms, let there be no quar-
 " ter. In civil war, mercy is the most false of
 " all virtues. When once the sword is drawn,
 " it should never be sheathed till submission be
 " attained. Henceforward it is theirs to answer
 " to heaven and to earth for their own misfor-
 " tunes. Let us consider, that a temporary se-
 " verity, exercised in these rebellious regions,
 " must secure to us obedience and peace for ages
 " to come.

" To suspend our exertions, and to disarm us,
 " we are repeatedly told, that this country is
 " peopled

“ peopled with our fellow-citizens, our friends,
“ and our brothers. What, shall we invoke in
“ their favour names which they have outraged,
“ and ties which they have broken? These
“ names, and these sacred ties, are the things
“ that accuse them, and pronounce them guilty.
“ Since when do those titles, so revered, im-
“ pose duties only upon us? Since when have
“ rebellious children the right of taking up arms
“ against their mother, of depriving her of her
“ inheritance, and of tearing her to pieces?
“ They talk of liberty. I respect the name as
“ much as they do: but, is this liberty inde-
“ pendence? Is it the right of subverting a le-
“ gislation, established and founded for two cen-
“ turies past? Is it the right of usurping all our
“ rights? They talk of liberty; and I talk of
“ the supremacy and the sovereign power of
“ England.

“ WHAT, if they had any complaints to make,
“ if they refused to bear with us a small portion
“ of the burthen which oppresses us, and to share
“ in our expences, as we make them share in
“ our grandeur, had they no other way of doing
“ this but by rebellion, but by arms? They
“ are called our fellow-citizens, and our friends;
“ but I behold in them nothing more than our
“ persecutors, and the most cruel enemies of our
“ country. Undoubtedly, we have had common
“ ancestors; but these respectable forefathers I
“ myself call upon with confidence. If their
“ shades could resume their place here, their in-
“ dignation would be equal to ours. With
“ what

B O O K
XVIII.

“ what resentment would these virtuous citizens
“ hear, that those of their descendants who had
“ settled beyond the seas, had no sooner felt their
“ own strength, than they had made the guilty
“ trial of it against their country; and that
“ they have turned her own benefits against her?
“ All of them, yes, all of them, even that pa-
“ cific set into whom their founder instilled the
“ duty of never steeping their hands in blood;
“ they who had respected the rights and the lives
“ of savage people; they who, in the enthusiasm
“ of humanity, have broken the fetters of their
“ slaves; at present, equally faithless to their
“ country and to their religion, take up arms
“ for the purpose of carnage, and to use them
“ against you. They treat all men as their bre-
“ thren; and you alone, of all people, are ex-
“ cluded from this title. They have taught the
“ world, that the savage Americans, and the
“ Negroes of Africa, are henceforth less strangers
“ to them than the citizens of England.

“ ARM yourselves, therefore; avenge your of-
“ fended rights, avenge your greatness betrayed.
“ Display that power, which makes itself be
“ feared in Europe, in Africa, and in India;
“ and which hath so often astonished America
“ itself; and since between a sovereign people,
“ and the subject that rebels, there can hence-
“ forth be no other treaty than that of force,
“ let force determine the matter. Preserve, and
“ retake that universe which belongs to you,
“ and which ingratitude and boldness would de-
“ prive you of.”

THE

THE sophisms of a vehement orator, supported by the influence of the crown, and by national pride, extinguished in most of the representatives of the people the desire of a pacific arrangement. The new resolutions are similar to the former. Every thing in them even bears, in a more decisive manner, the stamp of ferociousness and despotism. Armies are raised and fleets are equipped. The generals and the admirals sail towards the New World, with destructive and sanguinary orders and plans. Nothing but unreserved submission can preserve or put a stop to the ravages ordained against the colonies.

B O O K
XVIII.

England resolves to reduce her colonies by force.

TILL this memorable period, the Americans had confined themselves to a resistance authorised by the English laws themselves. They had shewn no other ambition, but that of being maintained in the very limited rights which they had always enjoyed. Their chiefs, even, who might be supposed to have more extensive views, had not yet ventured to speak to the people of any thing more than an advantageous accommodation. By going further, they would have been apprehensive of losing the confidence of the people, attached by habit to an empire under the protection of which they had prospered. The report of the great preparations that were making for war in the Old Hemisphere, either to enslave or to reduce the New one to ashes, extinguished what remains there might be of affection for the original government. It now remained only to inspire the minds of men with energy. This effect was produced by a work intituled *Common Sense*.

BOOK
XVIII.

Sense. We shall here give an account of the ground-work of this doctrine, without confining ourselves precisely to the order the writer hath adopted.

NEVER, says the author of this celebrated work, never did an interest of greater importance engage the attention of the nations. It is not the concern of a city, or of a province; it is that of an immense continent, and of a great part of the globe. It is not the concern of a day, it is that of ages. The present period will determine the fate of a long futurity; and many hundred years after the cessation of our existence, the sun, in giving light to this hemisphere, will shine either upon our shame or our glory. We have for a long time talked of reconciliation and peace; but every thing is changed. As soon as arms are taken up, as soon as the first drop of blood is spilt, the time for debate is past. One day hath given rise to a revolution. One day hath transported us into a new age.

MEN of timorous minds, and who judge of the future by the past, think we are in want of the protection of England. She may be useful to a rising colony; she is become dangerous to a nation completely formed. Infancy stands in need of support, but youth must walk free, and with the elevation that is suitable to it. Between one nation and another, as between man and man, he who can have the power and the right to protect me, may also have the power and the will to do me an injury. I give up the protector, in order that I may not have a master to fear.

IN

IN Europe, the people are too closely pressed together, to admit this part of the globe to enjoy constant peace. The interests of courts and of nations are always clashing with each other. As the friends of England, we are obliged to have all her enemies. The dowry which this alliance will bring to America is perpetual war. Let us, therefore, separate. Neutrality, trade, and peace; such are the foundations of our grandeur.

THE authority of Great Britain must, sooner or later, have an end. This is the operation of nature, of necessity, and of time. The English government, therefore, can only give us a temporary constitution; and we shall only bequeath to our posterity, an American state, burdened with dissensions and debts. If we be desirous of securing our happiness, let us separate. If we be fathers, and if we love our children, let us separate. Laws and liberty, such is the inheritance we owe them.

ENGLAND is at too great a distance from us to govern us. What, shall we always cross two thousand leagues to demand the protection of laws, to claim justice, to justify ourselves of imaginary crimes, and meanly to solicit the court and the ministry of a foreign climate? Must we wait whole years for every answer, supposing it were not even too often injustice that we were obliged to go in search of across the ocean? No; for a great state, the centre and the seat of power must necessarily be in the state itself. Nothing but the despotism of the East can possibly have accustomed the people thus to receive laws from distant

B O O K
XVIII.

distant masters, or from bashaws, who are the representatives of invisible tyrants. But remember, that the more the distance increases, the heavier is the weight of despotism; and that the people, then deprived of almost all the benefits of government, have none but the misfortunes and vices of it.

NATURE hath not created a world, in order to subject it to the inhabitants of an island in another hemisphere. Nature hath established laws of equilibrium, which she follows in all parts, in the heavens as on the earth. By the rule of quantity and of distance, America can belong only to itself.

THERE is no government without a mutual confidence, between him who commands and him who obeys. Otherwise all is over, the communication is interrupted, and cannot possibly be renewed. England hath shewn too evidently, that she wanted to command us as slaves; America, that she was equally sensible of her rights and her strength. Each of them hath betrayed its secret; and from that moment no treaty can take place. It would be signed by hatred and mistrust; hatred which cannot forgive, and mistrust, which in its nature is irreconcilable.

WOULD you know what would be the consequence of an accommodation? Your ruin. You stand in need of laws, and will not obtain them. Who is to give them to you? The English nation? But she is jealous of your increase. The king? He is your enemy. Yourself, in your assemblies? Do you not recollect, that every legislation

gillation is subject to the negative right of the monarch who wishes to subdue you? This right would be a terrible one, incessantly militating against you. Should you make demands, they will be eluded : should you form plans of grandeur and commerce, they would become an object of alarm for the mother-country. Your government would be nothing more than a clandestine war, such as that of an enemy who wishes to destroy without fighting ; it would be, in political œconomy, a slow and concealed assassination, which gives rise to languor, which prolongs and entertains weakness, and which, by a destructive art, keeps the body equally suspended between life and death. If you should submit to England, such will be your fate.

We have a right to take up arms. Our rights are necessity, a just defence ; our misfortunes, those of our children, the enormities committed against us. Our rights are our august title of nation. The sword must decide between us. The tribunal of war is henceforth the only tribunal that exists for us. If we must fight, let it at least be for a cause that is worthy, and which will reward us for the lavishment of our riches and our blood. What ! shall we expose ourselves to see our cities destroyed, our countries ravaged, our families put to the sword, merely to obtain an honourable accommodation ; that is to say, to intreat for new chains, and to cement ourselves the edifice of our slavery ? What ! shall it be by the light of conflagrations ; shall it be over the graves of our fathers, of our children, and of our

VOL. VII. K k wives,

BOOK
XVIII.

wives, that we shall sign a treaty with our oppressors? And will they, covered over with our blood, condescend to forgive us? Alas! we should then be nothing more than a vile object of astonishment to Europe, of indignation to America, and of contempt even to our enemies. If we can obey, we have had no right to contend. Liberty alone can absolve us. Liberty, and entire liberty, is the only aim worthy of our efforts and of our perils. What do I say? It belongs to us from this moment. It is in the bloody plains of Lexington that our claims are registered; it is there that England hath torn in pieces that contract which united us to her. Yes, at the instant when England fired the first shot against us, nature herself proclaimed us free and independent.

LET us avail ourselves of the benefits we receive from our enemies. The youth of nations is the age the most favourable to their independence. It is the period of energy and vigour. Our minds are not yet surrounded with that parade of luxury which serves as a hostage to tyranny. Our limbs are not yet enervated by the arts of effeminacy. There is none of that nobility bearing sway among us, which, even by its constitution, is allied to kings; which is no further attached to liberty, than when it can make it the means of oppression; that nobility, eager of rights and titles, for whom, in times of revolution and crisis, the people are nothing more than an instrument, and for whom the supreme power is a corrupter always at hand.

YOUR

YOUR colonies are formed of plain and courageous, laborious and proud men ; men who are at once the proprietors and the cultivators of their lands. Liberty is the first of their wants. Rustic labours have previously inured them to war. Public enthusiasm will bring forth talents unknown. It is in revolutions that the minds of men are enlarged, that heroes make their appearance, and take their post. Recal Holland to your memory, and the multitude of extraordinary men to whom the contest for her liberty gave birth : such is your example. Recollect her success : such is your presage.

LET our first measure be to form a constitution that may unite us. The moment is come. Later than this, it would be abandoned to an uncertain futurity, and to the caprices of chance. The more we acquire men and riches, the more barriers will arise between us. How shall we then conciliate so many interests and so many provinces ? For a union of this kind, it is necessary that every people should be sensible at once of the weakness and strength of the whole. Great calamities or great apprehensions must prevail. Then it is, that among nations, as among individuals, those vigorous and rooted friendships take place, which reciprocally bind the souls and the interest of men. Then it is, that one single spirit universally prevailing, forms the genius of states ; and that all the scattered forces become, by being collected, one sole and terrible force. Thanks to our persecutors, we are now at that period ; and if we have courage, it will be a for-

BOOK
XVIII.

tunate one for us. Few nations have seized the favourable moment for the formation of their government. If this moment should once escape, it never returns; and men are consequently punished with ages of anarchy and slavery. Let not a similar fault prepare similar regrets for us, which would be ineffectual.

LET us therefore seize upon the moment which is the only one for us. It is in our power to form the finest constitution that ever existed among men. You have read in your sacred writings the history of mankind buried under a general deluge of the globe. One single family survived, and was commissioned by the Supreme Being to renew the earth. We are that family. Despotism hath overwhelmed every thing; and we can renew the world a second time.

AT this instant, we are going to determine the fate of a race of men more numerous, perhaps, than all the people of Europe taken together. Shall we wait till we become the prey of the conqueror, and till the hopes of the universe shall be frustrated? Let us suppose, that all the future generations of the world have at this moment their eyes fixed upon us, and are asking us for liberty. We are going to settle their destiny. If we betray them, they will one day walk over our graves with their chains, and perhaps load us with imprecations.

REMEMBER a work that hath appeared among us, and the motto of which was, UNION OR DEATH.

LET

LET us therefore unite, and begin by declaring OUR INDEPENDENCE. That alone can efface the title of rebellious subjects, which our insolent oppressors dare to bestow upon us. That alone can make us rise to that dignity that is our due, insure us allies among the powers, and imprint respect even on our enemies; and if we treat with them, that alone can give us the right of treating with that right and majesty which belongs to a nation.

BUT I will repeat it: Let us lose no time. Our uncertainty occasions our weakness. Let us dare to be free, and we are so. When we are ready to get over this step, we start back. We all look at each other with anxious curiosity. It seems as if we were astonished at our boldness, and frightened at our courage. But it is no longer time to calculate. In great affairs, and where there is but one great measure to adopt, too much circumspection ceases to be prudence. Whatever is extreme, demands an extreme resolution. Then the most enterprising steps are the most prudent; and the excess of boldness becomes even the means and the warrant of success.

SUCH was the basis of the sentiments and ideas diffused in this work. They confirmed in their principles those bold men, who for a long time past had asked to be entirely detached from the mother-country. The timid citizens, who had hitherto hesitated, at length determined on this great separation. The wish for independence had a sufficient number of partisans, to enable the ge-

The colonies break the ties which united them to England; and declare themselves independent of that country.

neral congress to declare it on the 4th of July 1776.

O, THAT I had received from nature the genius and eloquence of the celebrated orators of Athens and Rome! With what sublimity, with what enthusiasm should I not speak of those generous men, who, by their patience, their wisdom, and their courage, have erected this grand edifice. Hancock, Franklin, and the two Adamses, were the principal persons in this interesting scene; but they were not the only ones. Posterity will be acquainted with them all. Their celebrated names will be transmitted to it by a more fortunate pen than mine. The marble and the bronze will exhibit them to the remotest ages. At sight of them, the friend of liberty will feel his eyes filled with pleasing tears, and his heart will bound with joy. Under the bust of one of them has been written, HE TOOK FROM HEAVEN ITS THUNDER, AND FROM TYRANTS THEIR SCEPTRE. They will all partake with him the last words of this encomium.

HEROIC region! mine advanced age will not allow me to visit thee! I shall never be present amidst the respectable persons who compose your Arcopagus. I shall never assist at the deliberations of your congress. I shall die without having seen the residence of toleration, of morality, and of sound laws; of virtue, and of liberty. A free and sacred land will not cover my ashes: but I could have wished it; and my last words shall be vows addressed to Heaven for your prosperity.

ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH America was assured that her conduct would meet with universal approbation, yet she thought it her duty to lay before the nations the motives of it. She published her manifesto *, in which we read; the history of the English nation, and of its king, will offer to posterity, in speaking of them and of us, nothing but a heap of outrages and usurpations, all equally tending to the establishment of absolute tyranny in these provinces.

THIS history will say, that its monarch hath refused to give his consent to laws which were the most salutary and the most necessary for the public good.

THAT he hath transferred the assemblies to inconvenient places, at a distance from the records, in order to bring the deputies more easily into his views.

THAT he hath several times dissolved the chamber of the representatives, because the rights of the people were strenuously defended there.

THAT after the dissolution, the states have been left too long without representatives; and were consequently exposed to the inconveniencies resulting from the want of an assembly.

THAT he hath endeavoured to put a stop to population, by making it difficult for a foreigner to be naturalized, and by requiring too much for the lands of which he granted the property.

THAT he hath put the judges too much under his dependence, by enacting that they should hold their offices and their salaries from him alone.

* The English reader will easily perceive, that this account is not taken literally from the original manifesto published by the Americans.

BOOK
XVIII.

THAT he hath created new places, and filled those regions with a multitude of agents, who devoured our substance and disturbed our tranquillity.

THAT in time of full peace he hath kept up considerable forces in the midst of us, without the consent of the legislative power.

THAT he hath rendered the military power independent of, and even superior to, the civil law.

THAT he hath settled with corrupt men to lodge armed soldiers in our houses, and to shelter them from punishment for the murders which they might commit in America; to destroy our trade in all the parts of the globe; to impose taxes on us without our consent; to deprive us in several cases of our trials by juries; to transport us beyond seas that we might be brought to trial there; to take away our characters, suppress our best laws, and alter the basis and the form of our government; to suspend our own legislation in order to give us other laws.

THAT he hath himself abdicated his government over the provinces of America, by declaring that we had forfeited his protection, and by waging war against us.

THAT he hath caused our coasts to be ravaged, our ports to be destroyed, and our people to be massacred.

THAT he hath compelled our fellow-citizens, taken prisoners at sea, to bear arms against their country, to become the assassins of their friends and their brethren, or to perish themselves by those beloved hands.

THAT

THAT he hath fomented intestine divisions amongst us, and endeavoured to excite against our peaceful inhabitants, barbarous savages, accustomed to massacre without distinction of rank, of sex, or of age, every person they met with.

THAT at this time mercenary and foreign armies have arrived on our shores, who were intended to consummate the work of desolation and of death.

AND that a prince, whose character was thus marked by all the features of tyranny, was not fit to govern a free people.

A PROCEEDING which dissolved the ties formed by consanguinity, by religion, and by habit, ought to have been supported by a great unanimity and by prudent and vigorous measures. The united states of America gave themselves a confederate constitution, which added all the exterior strength of the monarchy to all the interior advantages of a republican government.

EACH province had an assembly formed by the representatives of the different districts, and who were entrusted with the legislative power. The executive power was vested in the president. It was his right and his duty to hear the complaints of all the citizens, to convene them when circumstances required it, to provide for the equipment and subsistence of the troops, and to concert the operations with their chiefs. He was placed at the head of a secret committee, whose business it was to keep up a constant intercourse with the general congress. The time of his administration

this body would remain in a state of inactivity. The distances to be traversed, together with the length and the multiplicity of the debates, might be too frequently prejudicial to the general good.

BESIDES, it is never in the infancy of a constitution, and in the midst of the great commotions for liberty, that we need apprehend that a body of representatives should betray, either from corruption or weakness, the interests with which they are entrusted. The general spirit will rather be inflamed and exalted in such a body. There it is that the genius of the nation resides in all its vigour. Chosen by the esteem of their fellow-citizens, chosen at a time when every public function is dangerous, and every vote an honour; placed at the head of those who will eternally compose this celebrated Arcopagus, and on that account naturally induced to consider public liberty as the work of their own hands, they must be possessed with the enthusiasm of founders, whose pride it is to engrave for future centuries their names upon the frontispiece of the august monument which is erecting. The apprehensions which the favourers of the contrary system might have upon this account, appear therefore to be ill-founded.

I WILL go further still. It might happen that a people who fight for their liberty, fatigued with a long and painful struggle, and more affected with the dangers of the moment than with the idea of their future happiness, might feel their courage damped, and might one day, perhaps,

haps, be tempted to prefer dependence and peace to a tempestuous independence, which would expose them to dangers and bloodshed. It is then that it would be advantageous to those people to have deprived themselves of the power of making peace with their oppressors, and to have vested that power in the hands of a senate which they had chosen to be the organ of their will at a time when that will was free, haughty, and courageous. It seems as if they had told their senate at the time of their institution, we raise the standard of war against our tyrants; if our arms should grow weary of the fight, if we should ever be capable of degrading ourselves so far as to sue for repose, support us against our weakness: do not attend to wishes unworthy of ourselves, which we previously disavow; and do not pronounce the name of peace till our chains shall be entirely broken.

ACCORDINGLY, if we consult the history of republics, we shall find that the multitude have almost always the impetuosity and the ardour of the first moment; but that it is only in a small number of men chosen and fit to serve as chiefs, in whom reside those constant and vigorous resolutions which proceed with a firm and certain step towards a great aim, and which are never altered, but obstinately struggle against calamities, fortune, and mankind.

HOWEVER this may be, and whatever side we may take in this political discussion, the Americans had not yet formed their system of government, when in the month of March, Hopkins

War began
between the
United
States and
England.

was

BOOK
XVIII.

was carrying off from the English islands of Providence a very numerous artillery, and a great quantity of warlike stores; when at the beginning of May, Carleton drove away from Canada the Provincials who were employed in reducing Quebec, in order to finish the conquest of that great possession; when in June, Clinton and Parker were so vigorously driven back upon the coasts of South America. The declaration of independence was followed by greater scenes.

Howe had succeeded the feeble Gage. It was even the new general who had evacuated Boston. Received in Halifax on the second of April, he quitted it the tenth of June to go to Staten Island, where he was successively joined by the land and sea forces which he expected; and on the 28th of August he landed without opposition upon Long Island, under the protection of a fleet commanded by the admiral his brother. The Americans did not display much more vigour in the inland countries than upon the coasts. After a trifling resistance and considerable losses they took refuge on the continent, with a facility which a conqueror, who had known how to improve his advantages, would never have given them.

THE new republicans forsook the city of New York with still greater facility than they had evacuated Long Island, and they had retired to Kingsbridge, where every thing seemed disposed for an obstinate resistance.

HAD the English followed up their first successes with that activity which the circum-

stances required, the new levies which were opposed to them would infallibly have been dispersed or obliged to lay down their arms. Six weeks were allowed them to recover themselves, and they did not abandon their intrenchments till the night of the 2d of November, when they were convinced, by the motions which were made under their eyes, that their camp was going to be attacked.

WASHINGTON their chief did not choose to trust the fate of his country to an action which might have been, and which must naturally have been, decisive against the great interests he was entrusted with. He knew that delays are always favourable to the inhabitants of a country and fatal to strangers. This conviction determined him to fall back upon the Jerseys with the intention of protracting the war. Favoured by the winter, by the knowledge of the country, by the nature of the territory, which deprived discipline of part of its advantages, he might flatter himself that he should be able to cover the greatest part of this fertile province, and to keep the enemy at a distance from Pennsylvania. All of a sudden he found his colours forsaken by soldiers, who were engaged for no more than six or even three months, and from an army of five and twenty thousand men, he scarcely kept together two thousand five hundred, with whom he found himself very fortunate to escape beyond the Delaware.

WITHOUT losing a moment the royal troops ought to have crossed the river in pursuit of this
small

B O O K
XVIII.

small number of fugitives, and to have completed the dispersion of them. If the five thousand men destined for the conquest of Rhode Island had gone up the river upon the ships they were on board of, the junction of the two corps would have been made without opposition in Philadelphia itself, and the new republic would have been extinguished in the famous and interesting city which had given it birth.

THE English general was perhaps censured at that time for having been too timorous and too circumspect in the operations of the field. It is however certain, that he was rash in the distribution of his winter-quarters. He settled them as if there had not been a single individual in America, who either had the power or the inclination to molest them.

THIS presumption emboldened the militia of Pennsylvania, of Maryland, and of Virginia, who had united for their common safety. The 25th of December they crossed the Delaware, and fell unawares upon Trentown, which was occupied by fifteen hundred of the twelve thousand Hessians who had been so basely sold to Great Britain by their avaricious master. This corps was either massacred, taken, or entirely dispersed. A week after, three English regiments were also driven out of Princes Town, but not without having shewn more courage than the foreign troops in their pay. These unexpected events reduced the enemies of America in Jersey to the posts of Amboy and of Brunswick; and they were even much harassed there during the remainder of the

the bad season. The effect of great passions and great dangers is frequently to astonish the soul, and to plunge it in a kind of stupor which deprives it of the use of its powers. By degrees it comes to itself and recovers. All its faculties, suspended for a moment, exert themselves with greater energy. It strains all its springs, and its strength becomes equal to its situation. In a great multitude some individuals first experience this effect, and it is quickly communicated to all. This revolution had been accomplished in the confederate States, and armed men issued forth from all quarters of them.

THE campaign of 1777 was opened very late. The English army despairing of making a road to Pennsylvania through the Jerseys, embarked at length on the 23d of July, and arrived by Chesapeak Bay, in a country which their generals might be censured for not having invaded the preceding year. Their march was not interrupted till they came to Brandewine, where they attacked and defeated the Americans on the 11th of September, and arrived on the 30th at Philadelphia, which had been abandoned by congress on the 25th, and by a great number of the inhabitants some days sooner or later.

THIS conquest was attended with no consequences. The conquerors beheld nothing but hatred and devastation around them. Confined in a very circumscribed space, they met with unformountable obstacles in extending themselves upon an uncultivated territory. Their gold even did not furnish them with resources from the

BOOK
XVIII.

neighbouring districts, and they could only acquire their subsistence from across the seas. Wearied with a confinement which had lasted nine months, they determined to regain New York by the Jerseys; and this long and dangerous retreat was accomplished under the command of Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, with less loss than they would have suffered from a more experienced enemy.

WHILE the English were languishing in Pennsylvania a vast scene was opening in the more northern countries of America. In the month of May 1776, Carleton had driven away the provincials from Canada, and destroyed in October the ships of war which had been constructed upon lake Champlain. This success carried Burgoyne to Ticonderago, in the month of July of the ensuing year. At his approach, the garrison of four thousand men abandoned this important post with the loss of their artillery, ammunition, and rear guard.

THE English general was naturally presumptuous, and his boldness was increased by these evident signs of weakness. He had conceived the design of uniting the troops of Canada with those of New York by the shores of Hudson's Bay. This project was great and daring. Had it succeeded it would have divided South America into two parts, and perhaps have ended the war. But in order to make it succeed, it was necessary that while one army was going down the river another should be coming up it. This plan having failed, Burgoyne ought to have perceived from the first

first that his enterprize was chimerical. It became more so every march. His communications became more distant and his provisions were diminishing. The courage of the Americans being revived, they assembled and closed him on all sides. At length this unfortunate army found itself surrounded on the 13th October at Saratoga, and the nations heard with astonishment, that six thousand of the best disciplined troops of the Old Hemisphere, had laid down their arms before the husbandmen of the New Hemisphere, under the conduct of the fortunate Gates. Those who recollected that the Swedes of Charles XII. who had till then been invincible, had capitulated to the Russians, who were still in a state of barbarism, did not censure the English troops, and only blamed the imprudence of their general.

BOOK
XVIII.

THIS event, so decisive in the opinion of our politicians, was attended with no greater consequences than had resulted from actions less favourable to the American arms. After three years spent in battles, devastation, and massacres, affairs were much in the same situation as they were a fortnight after the commencement of hostilities. Let us endeavour to investigate the cause of this strange singularity.

ENGLAND, accustomed to stormy times in her own country, did not at first perceive all the dangerous tendency of the tempest which was rising in her distant possessions. Her troops had been a long time insulted at Boston. An authority independent of her own had been formed in

What is the reason that the English have not succeeded in subduing the confederate provinces?

BOOK
XVIII.

Massachuset's Bay; the other colonies were preparing to follow that example before administration had seriously attended to those great objects. When they were laid before parliament they excited much clamours in both houses, and there was no end to the debates. The senate of the nation at length determined, that the country which rebelled against its decrees should be compelled by force to submit to them. But this violent resolution was carried into execution with that delay which is but too common in free States.

ENGLAND was generally of opinion, that defenceless coasts and countries, which were entirely laid open, could not long resist her fleets and her armies. It did not appear to her that this expedition would continue long enough to give the peaceful cultivators of America time to instruct themselves in the art of war. She did not take into consideration the climate, the rivers, the defiles, the woods, the morasses, the want of subsistence increasing in proportion as one advanced in the inland countries, together with an infinite number of other natural obstacles which would impede any rapid progress in a country three-fourths of which were uncultivated, and which ought to be considered as a recent one.

THE successes were still more retarded by the influence of moral causes.

GREAT BRITAIN is the region of parties. Her kings have most generally been convinced of the necessity of abandoning the direction of affairs to the prevailing faction, by which they were commonly

monly conducted with intelligence and vigour, because the principal agents who composed it were animated with one common interest. At that time, to the public spirit which prevails more in England than in any European government, was added the strength of faction, and that spirit of party which is perhaps the first spring of a republic, and which so powerfully agitates the soul, because it is always the effect of some passion. George III. in order to free himself from this long tutelage, composed his council of members unconnected with each other. This innovation was not attended with great inconveniences, as long as events moved on in their ordinary circle. But when the American war had complicated a machine which was already too intricate, it was perceived that it had no longer that power and that union so necessary to accomplish great things. The wheels, too much divided, wanted as it were one common impulse and a centre of motion. Their progression was alternately tardy and precipitate. The administration resembled too much that of an ordinary monarchy, when the principle of action doth not come from the head of an active and intelligent monarch, who himself collects under his own management all the springs of government. There was no longer any harmony in the enterprises, nor was there any more in the execution of them.

BOOK
XVIII.

A MINISTRY without harmony and without concord was exposed to the attacks incessantly renewed of an adverse body of men united and

BOOK
XVIII.

compact together. Their resolutions, whatever they might be, were opposed with ridicule and with argument. They were censured for having acted with violence against citizens at a distance, and they would have been equally censured, had they treated them with more circumspection. Even those who in parliament exclaimed the most vehemently against the treatment the Americans had met with, those who encouraged them the most to resistance, those who perhaps sent them secret succours, were as much averse from their independence, as the minister whom they were incessantly endeavouring to degrade or to render odious. If the opposition had succeeded in disgusting the prince of his confidants, or had prevailed upon him to sacrifice them on account of the clamours of the nation, the project of conquering America would still have been pursued; but with more dignity, with more strength, and with measures perhaps better adapted. But as the reduction of the provinces was not to be accomplished by them, they chose rather that this immense part of the British empire should be separated from it, than that it should remain attached to it by any other means than theirs.

THE generals did not repair, by their activity, the errors of these contradictions, and of the delays which were the consequence of them. They granted too long repose to the soldiers; they wasted in deliberation the time which they should have employed in action; they marched up to new raised troops with as much precaution as they would have taken against veterans. The
English,

English, who are so impetuous in their factions, display on all other occasions a calm and cool character. They require violent passions to agitate them. When this stimulus is wanting, they calculate all their motions. Then they conduct themselves according to the tenor of their character, which in general, except in the arts of imagination and taste, is universally mechanical and prudent. In war, their valour never loses sight of military principles, and leaves little to chance. They scarce ever leave upon their flanks, or in their rear, any thing that can give them uneasiness. This system hath its advantages, especially in a narrow and confined country, in a country thick set with fortresses or military posts. But in the present circumstances, and on the vast continent of America, against a people to whom one should not have allowed time to fortify themselves, nor to inure themselves to war, the perfection of the art would perhaps have been, to lay it entirely aside; to substitute to it an impetuous and rapid march, and that boldness which at once astonishes, strikes, and overthrows. It was in the first instances especially, that it would have been proper to impress the Americans, not with the terror of ravages, which irritate rather than they frighten a people armed for their liberty; but with that which arises from the superiority of talents and of arms, and which a warlike people of the Old World ought naturally to have carried into the New one. The confidence of victory would soon have been victory itself. But by too much

BOOK
XVIII.

circumspection, by too servile an attachment to principles and to rules, commanders of little skill failed in rendering that service to their country which she expected, and had a right to expect from them.

THE troops, on the other hand, did not press their officers to lead them on to action. They arrived from a country, where the cause which had obliged them to cross so many seas excited no concern. It was, in the eyes of the people, an effervescence which would have no consequences. They confounded the debates which it occasioned in parliament, with other debates, which were often of little importance. It was not talked of; and if any person happened to mention it, they appeared to be no more interested in it, than in that kind of news which, in great cities, employs the lounging hours of every day. The indifference of the nation had communicated itself to those who were to defend their rights. Perhaps even they were apprehensive of gaining too decisive an advantage over fellow-citizens, who had only taken up arms to prevent slavery. In all the monarchies of Europe, the soldier is only the instrument of despotism, and his sentiments are analogous. He thinks he belongs to the throne, and not to his country; and a hundred thousand men in arms are nothing more than one hundred thousand disciplined and terrible slaves. The habit even of exercising the empire of force, to which every thing gives way, contributes to extinguish in them all idea of liberty. Finally, the discipline, and military subor-

subordination, which, at the command of one single man, puts thousands in motion; which doth not suffer the soldier either to see or to ask questions; and which, on the first signal, makes it a rule to kill or to die, tends completely to change in them those sentiments into principles, and makes them as it were the moral system of their condition. It is not the same in England. The influence of the constitution is so powerful, that it extends even to the troops. A man there is a citizen before he is a soldier. Public opinion agreeing with the constitution, honours one of these titles, and thinks little of the other. Accordingly, we see from the history of the revolutions that have happened in this turbulent island, that the English soldier, though enlisted for life, preserves a passion for political liberty, the idea of which cannot be easily conceived in our regions of slavery.

How is it possible that the ardour which was wanting to the British troops should have animated the Hessians, the Brunswickers, and the other Germans, ranged under the same standards, and all of them equally dissatisfied with the sovereigns who had sold them, dissatisfied with the prince who had purchased them, dissatisfied with the nation that paid them, and dissatisfied with their comrades, who despised them as mercenaries? Besides, they had also in the enemy's camp, brothers whom they were afraid of destroying, and by whose hands they would not have wished to be wounded.

BOOK

XVIII.

THE spirit of the British armies was also changed, in consequence of a revolution which had taken place in the manners of the nation for about fifteen or eighteen years past. The successes of the last war; the extension commerce had received after the peace; the great acquisitions made in the East Indies; all these means of wealth had accumulated uninterruptedly prodigious riches in Great Britain. These treasures kindled the desire of fresh enjoyments. The great went in search of this art in foreign countries, especially in France, and brought with them the poison of it into their own country. From the men of high rank, it soon diffused itself among all orders of men. To a haughty, simple, and reserved character, succeeded the taste for parade, dissipation, and gallantry. The travellers who had formerly visited this island so celebrated, thought themselves under another sky. The contagion had even gained the troops; they carried into the New Hemisphere that passion they had contracted in the Old one, for play, the inclination for all the conveniences of life, and for high living. In quitting the coasts, they should have renounced all the superfluities to which they were attached; and that taste for luxury, that ardour, so much the more violent as it was recent, did not encourage them to follow into the inland parts, men who were always ready to fall back upon them. Ye new politicians, who advance with so much confidence, that the manners have no kind of influence upon the destiny

finy of states: that for them the measure of their grandeur is that of their riches; that the luxury of peace, and the voluptuous pursuits of the citizen, cannot weaken the effect of those great machines which are called armies, and the sensible and terrible impulse of which European discipline hath brought to so great perfection: you who, to support your opinion, turn your eyes away from the ashes of Carthage and the ruins of Rome; suspend at least your judgment at the account I am giving you, and acknowledge that there may perhaps be opportunities of success, which luxury prevents us from availing ourselves of. Acknowledge that for troops even that are brave, it has been often the first source of victory, that they had no wants. It is too easy a matter, perhaps, to have nothing but death to face. Nations corrupted by wealth have a more difficult trial to undergo; that of supporting the privation of their pleasures.

LET us add to all these reasons, that the instruments of war do not often arrive across the seas in the proper seasons for action. Let us add, that the councils of George III. had too much influence over military operations, which were to be carried on at so great a distance from them; and we shall then comprehend most of the obstacles which impeded the success of the ruinous efforts of the mother-country against the liberty of the colonies.

BUT wherefore did not America herself repulse from her shores the Europeans who were bringing death or slavery to her?

Why have
not the con-
federate
provinces
succeeded in

B O O K

XVIII.

driving the
English
from the
continent of
America?

THIS New World was defended by regular troops, which at first had been enlisted only for three or six months, and afterwards for three years, or even for all the time hostilities might last. It was defended by citizens, who only took the field when their particular province was either invaded or threatened. Neither the standing army, nor the militia assembled for a time, breathed the military spirit. They were planters, merchants, lawyers, exercised only in the arts of peace, and led on to danger by commanders as little versed as their subalterns in the very complicated science of military actions. In this state of things, what hope was there of their acting with advantage against men grown old in discipline, trained to evolutions, skilled in tactics, and abundantly provided with all the instrument necessary for a brisk attack, and for an obstinate resistance?

ENTHUSIASM alone could have surmounted such difficulties. But did it really exist more in the colonies than in the mother-country?

THE general opinion in England was, that the parliament had essentially the right of taxing all the regions which constituted a part of the British empire. At the commencement of the troubles, there were not perhaps a hundred individuals who would have called this authority in question. Nevertheless, the refusal of the Americans to acknowledge it, did not set the minds of men against them. There was no hatred entertained against them, even after they had taken up arms to support their pretensions. As the labours in the inland

land parts of the kingdom were not affected, and as the thunder was only heard at a distance, every one attended peaceably to his own affairs, or devoted himself quietly to his pleasures. All of them expected, without impatience, the end of a scene, the termination of which did not indeed appear uncertain to them.

B O O K
XVIII.

THE ferment must at first have broken out with more violence in the New than in the Old Hemisphere. Hath ever the odious name of tyranny, or the pleasing word of independence, been pronounced to the nations, without raising emotions in them? But was this ardour kept up? If the imaginations of men had been maintained in their first state of commotion, would it not have been the business of a rising authority to attend to the suppression of the excess of it? But far from having boldness to restrain it, it was cowardice they had to guard against. They punished desertion with death, and stained the standard of liberty with assassinations. They refused to exchange prisoners, for fear of increasing, in the troops, their inclination to surrender at the first summons. They were reduced to the necessity of erecting tribunals, appointed to prosecute their generals or their lieutenants who should abandon too lightly the posts committed to their trust. It is true, an old man of fourscore years of age, whom they wanted to send back to his home, exclaimed, *My death may be useful; I shall cover with my body a younger man than I am.* It is true, that Putnam said to a loyalist who was his prisoner: *Return to your commander; and if he should ask you how many troops I have, tell him I have*

enough; that if even he should beat them, there will remain enough; and that he will experience, in the end, that I shall have enough for him, and for the tyrants whom he serves. These sentiments were heroic, but rare; and they became less common every day.

THE intoxication was never general, and indeed could only be temporary. Of all the causes of energy which have produced so many revolutions on the globe, none existed in the North of America. No outrage had been committed either against religion or the laws. The blood of martyrs and of citizens had not flowed upon the scaffolds. The morals had received no insult. The manners and the customs, none of those objects to which the people are so much attached, had been delivered up to ridicule. Arbitrary power had not dragged any inhabitant from the midst of his family and his friends, to plunge him into the horrors of a prison. Public order had not been subverted. The principles of administration had not been altered; and the maxims of government had remained always the same. The only circumstance was to know, whether the mother-country had or had not the right, directly or indirectly, of laying a slight tax on the colonies: for the accumulated grievances mentioned in the manifesto arose only from this first grievance. This question, which is almost a metaphysical one, was scarce proper to raise an insurrection among the multitude, or at least to interest them strongly in a quarrel, for which they saw their lands deprived of the assistances necessary to fertilize them, their harvests ravaged,

and

and their fields covered with the dead bodies of their relations, or stained with their own blood. To these calamities, which were occasioned by the royal troops on the coast, others were soon added, still more insupportable, in the inland parts of the country.

B O O K
XVIII.

WHENEVER the restlessness of the courts of London and Versailles had disturbed North America, those two powers had always drawn into their sanguinary contests the wandering inhabitants of this part of the New Hemisphere. Informed by experience how much weight these hords of savages could throw into the scale, the English and the colonists resolved equally to employ them to their mutual destruction.

CARLETON first endeavoured to put arms into the hands of these barbarians in Canada. They answered his applications with saying, " This is a dispute between a father and his children ; it does not become us to interfere in this domestic quarrel."—" But if the rebels should come to attack this province, would you not assist us in repelling them ?"—" Since the peace, the hatchet of war is buried forty fathom deep."—" You could certainly find it, if you were to dig for it."—" The handle is rotten, and we could make no use of it."

THE United States were not more successful. " We have heard of the differences that have arisen between Old and New England," said the tribe of the Oneidas to their deputies. " We will never take a part in contests of so atrocious a nature. A war between brothers is a thing

BOOK
XVIII.

“ thing new and unknown in these regions. Our
“ traditions have not left us any instance of this
“ kind. Extinguish your extravagant hatred;
“ and may a more serene sky dispel the dark
“ cloud that surrounds you.”

THE Masphis alone seemed to interest themselves in the fate of the Americans. “ Here are
“ sixteen shillings for you,” said these good savages. “ It is all we are worth. We intended to
“ buy some rum with it; but we will drink water. We will go to the chase; and if we should
“ kill any animals, we will sell their skins, and
“ bring you the money.”

BUT in process of time, the very active emissaries of Great Britain succeeded in bringing over to her side several of the original nations. Her interests were preferred to those of her enemies, because the distance had not allowed her subjects to commit the same outrages against the savages as they had received from their proud neighbours; and because she was both able and inclined to pay more liberally for the services she might receive from them. Under her colours these allies, whose ferocious character knew no restraint, did infinitely more mischief to the colonists settled near the mountains, than such of their fellow-citizens who had the good fortune to be settled near the borders of the ocean received from the royal troops.

THESE calamities fell only upon a more or less considerable number of the Americans; but they were soon all of them afflicted with an internal misfortune.

THE

THE metals, which cover the face of the whole globe, and represent all the objects of commerce, were never abundant in this part of the New World. The small quantity that was found there even disappeared at the first breaking out of hostilities. To these signs of universal convention were substituted others peculiar to these districts. Paper supplied the want of money. To give some kind of dignity to this new pledge, it was surrounded with emblems calculated to recall continually to the minds of the people the greatness of their enterprise, the inestimable value of liberty, and the necessity of a perseverance superior to all misfortunes. The artifice did not succeed; and these ideal riches were rejected. The more did necessity oblige them to be multiplied, the more did their discredit increase. The congress was offended with the insult done to their coin; and they declared traitors to their country all those who should not receive it as they would have received gold.

DID not the congress then know, that authority can no more be exerted over the mind than over opinion? Were they not sensible, that in the present crisis, every reasonable citizen would be apprehensive of risking his fortune? Did they not perceive, that at the origin of the republic, they indulged themselves in acts of despotism unknown in countries that are even formed to servitude? Could they conceal from themselves, that they punished a want of confidence with the same punishment which would scarce have been merited for revolt and treason?

B O O K
XVIII.

The congress perceived all this; but had no choice of means. Their contemptible and rejected paper was actually thirty times below its original value, when they fabricated more of it. On the 13th September 1779, there was circulating among the public to the amount of 799,744,000 livres * of it. The state was then indebted 188,670,525 livres †, exclusive of the debts peculiar to each province.

THE people were not indemnified for a calamity which might be called domestic, by a free intercourse with all the other parts of the globe. Great Britain had intercepted their navigation with the West Indies, and with all the latitudes which were covered with their ships. They then declared to the world, "It is the English name which hath rendered us odious; we solemnly abjure it. All men are our brethren. We are the friends of every nation. All flags may appear upon our coasts, and frequent our ports without fear of insult." But this invitation, apparently so alluring, was not complied with. The states that were really commercial being apprised that North America had been obliged to contract debts, at the period even of its greatest prosperity, judiciously imagined, that in its present distress, it would be able to pay very little for what was brought to it. The French alone dared to brave the inconveniences of this new connection. But by the enlightened vigilance of Admiral Howe, most of the ships which they fitted

* 33,322,666l. 13s. 4d. † 7,861,271l. 17s. 6d.

out were taken before they arrived to the place of their destination, and the rest at their departure from the American shores. Of several hundred ships sent out from France, no more than twenty-five or thirty returned; and even these were of little or no benefit to their owners.

A NUMBER of privations, added to so many calamities, might have made the Americans regret their former tranquillity, and inclined them to a reconciliation with England. In vain were the people bound by the faith of oaths, and by the influence of religion, to the new government. In vain had it been endeavoured to convince them of the impossibility of negotiating safely with a mother-country, in which one parliament could subvert what had been regulated by another. In vain had they been threatened with the eternal resentment of an affronted and vindictive enemy. It was possible that these distant apprehensions might not counterbalance the weight of the present calamities.

SUCH was the opinion of the British ministry, when they sent public agents into the New World, who were authorised to offer any terms short of independence, to those very Americans, from whom, two years before, an unlimited submission had been required. There is some probability, that this plan of conciliation might have been successful some months before. But at the period when the court of London sent to propose it, it was haughtily rejected, because this step appeared only to be the effect of fear and weakness. The people were already re-animated;

BOOK
XVIII.

the congress, the generals, the troops, the intelligent or bold men who in every colony had assumed the authority, all, in a word, had recovered their former spirit. This was the effect of a treaty of friendship and commerce between the United States and the court of Versailles, which was signed on the 6th of February 1778.

France acknowledges the independence of the United States. This step occasions a war between that crown and the crown of England.

HAD the English ministry reflected, they would have comprehended that the same delirium which caused them to attack their colonies, should have compelled them instantly to declare war against France. The circumspection which ought always to attend a new reign then prevailed in the councils of this crown. Their finances were then in that state of confusion, into which they had been plunged by twenty years perseverance in folly. The ruined state of their navy then raised anxiety in the breast of every citizen. Spain, already harassed with her extravagant expedition against Algiers, was then surrounded with difficulties which would have prevented her from being able to assist her allies. England might, without rashness, have flattered herself with success against the most powerful of her enemies; and might have intimidated America, by victories obtained in its neighbourhood. The importance it was of to this crown, to deprive its rebellious subjects of the only support they were certain of, would have diminished the indignation excited by the violation of the most solemn treaties.

GEORGE III. saw nothing of all this. The clandestine succours which the court of Versailles used to send to the provinces in arms for the defence

fence of their rights did not open his eyes. The dock-yards of this power were filled with ship-builders; its arsenals were stocking with artillery, and there remained no more room in its magazines for fresh naval stores. Its harbours presented the most menacing aspect; and yet this strange infatuation still continued. To rouse the court of St. James's from its lethargy, it was necessary that Lewis XVI. should cause it to be signified to them on the 14th March, that he had acknowledged the independence of the United States.

THIS declaration was a declaration of war. It was impossible that a nation, more accustomed to give than to take an affront, should patiently suffer that its subjects should be released from their oath of allegiance, and be raised with splendour to the rank of sovereign powers. All Europe foresaw that two nations which had been rivals for so many centuries, were going to stain with blood the waters of the ocean, and engage again in that terrible conflict in which public prosperity can never compensate private distress. Those in whom ambition had not extinguished every sentiment of benevolence towards their fellow-creatures, previously deplored the calamities which were ready to fall upon the human race in both hemispheres.

THE bloody scene however was not yet begun, and this delay inspired some credulous persons with the hopes that peace would continue. It was not known that a fleet had sailed from Toulon with directions to attack the English in the

BOOK
XVIII.

North of America. It was not known, that there were orders sent from London to drive away the French out of the East Indies. Without being initiated in these mysteries of perfidy, which an insidious policy hath made to be considered as great strokes of state, men who were really enlightened, judged that hostilities were unavoidable, and even near at hand on our own ocean. This foreseen event was brought about by an engagement between two frigates on the 17th June 1778.

HERE our task becomes more and more difficult. Our sole aim is to be useful and true. Far from us be that spirit of party which fascinates and disgraces those who lead mankind, or who aspire to instruct them. Our wishes will be for our country, and we shall pay homage to justice. In whatever place, and under whatever form virtue shall present herself to us, we shall honour her. The distinction of society and of states cannot estrange us from her, and the just and magnanimous man will every where be our fellow-citizen. If in the different events which we review, we have the courage to blame what appears to us to deserve it, we do not seek the melancholy and idle satisfaction of dealing out indiscriminate censure. But we address ourselves to the nations and to posterity. It is our duty faithfully to transmit to them whatever may influence the public felicity. It is our duty to give them the history of the faults that are committed, in order that they may be instructed to avoid them. Should we dare to betray this noble duty, we
should

should perhaps flatter the present generation, ^{B O O K}
 which is fleeting and passeth away; but justice ^{XVIII.}
 and truth, which are eternal, would denounce us
 to future generations, which would read us with
 contempt, and would never pronounce our name
 without disdain. In this long career we have
 undertaken, we will be just to those who still
 exist, as we have been to those who are no more.
 If among men in power there be any who are
 offended with this liberty, we will not be afraid to
 say to them, that we are only the organs of a su-
 preme tribunal, which is at length erected by
 reason upon an immoveable foundation. Every
 government in Europe must henceforth dread its
 decrees. The public opinion, which becomes
 more and more enlightened, and which is neither
 stopped nor intimidated by any thing, is perpe-
 tually attentive to nations and to courts. It pe-
 netrates into cabinets where policy is shut up;
 there it judges the depositaries of power, their
 passions, and their weakness, and by the empire
 of genius and knowledge raises itself above the
 governors of mankind, either to direct or to re-
 strain them! Woe to those who either disdain
 this tribunal or set it at defiance! This apparent
 boldness arises only from inability. Woe to
 those whose talents are insufficient to bear its ex-
 amination! Let them do themselves justice, let
 them lay down a burthen too heavy for their
 feeble hands. They will at least no longer com-
 promise themselves and the States.

FRANCE began the war with invaluable advan-
 tages. The place, the time, the circumstances,

BOOK
XVIII.

every thing she had chosen. It was not till after having made preparations at leisure, till after having brought her forces to that degree which was proper, that she shewed herself upon the field of battle. She had only to combat an enemy humbled, weakened, and discouraged by domestic dissensions. The favour of the other nations was on her side against those imperious masters, or, as it was said, against those tyrants of the seas.

THE events seemed favourable to the wishes of all Europe. The French officers, who had former humiliations to efface, exerted themselves in brilliant actions, the remembrance of which will last for a long time. A skilful theory and an undaunted courage supplied any deficiency there might be on the point of experience. In all the private engagements they came off with glory, and most of them terminated to their advantage. The British fleet was exposed to still greater dangers than the separate ships were. It was so ill treated, that its total or partial destruction was apprehended, if the fleet which had reduced it to this deplorable state off Ushant, had not determined, from timid orders, from odious intrigues, from the weakness of the admirals, or from all these motives combined, to quit the sea and re-enter first into port.

IN the intoxication of this success, perhaps unexpected, France seemed to lose sight of her most important interests. Her principal object should have been to intercept the trade of her enemies, to deprive them of the double strength
they

they derived from their sailors and from their riches, and thus to sap the two foundations of English greatness. Nothing was more easy to accomplish by a power long prepared for hostilities, than to intercept the trading navy, entirely off its guard, and attended with very feeble convoys. But this was neglected, and the immense riches which Great Britain expected from all parts of the globe, entered quietly into her harbours even without the least loss.

THE trade of France, on the contrary, was harassed in both hemispheres, and intercepted every where. Her colonies beheld the subsistence which they were expecting, with all the anxiety of want, carried off from their own coast, and the mother-country found itself deprived of fourscore or a hundred millions * almost within her own view. These misfortunes certainly arose from some cause which we will endeavour to investigate.

THE French navy had for a long time been unfortunate, and its numerous calamities were attributed to the defect of its constitution. Several attempts were made either to modify or to alter the regulations; but these innovations, whether good or bad, were always rejected with more or less visible disdain. At length the admirals dictated themselves in 1776, an ordinance, which, by making them absolute masters of the harbours, of the arsenals, of the docks, and of the magazines, destroyed that mutual superinten-

* From 3,333,333l. 6s. 8d. to 4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.
dence

B O O K
XVIII.

dence which Lewis XIV. had thought proper to establish between the officers of the navy and those of administration. From that time there was no more order, no more responsibility, no more œconomy in the ports; every thing there fell into confusion and disorder.

THE new plan had still a more fatal influence. Till that period the ministry had directed their naval operations in a manner suitable to their political plans. This authority was transferred, without being perceived, perhaps to those who were to carry these operations into execution; and they imperceptibly acquired the tint of their prejudices, which led them to believe that it was not by heavy and laborious escorts of the ships of the nation, or by remaining for a length of time on difficult cruises, in order to surprise or destroy the vessels of the enemy, that a reputation was to be attained. This double duty was therefore either entirely neglected or very ill fulfilled on account of the general opinion prevalent at Brest, that such a service had nothing noble in it, and did not lead to any kind of glory.

It must be owned, that this prejudice is a very singular one, and entirely contrary to all the laws of society. What can have been the intention of the States in instituting this military force destined to traverse the seas? Was it only to procure rank to those who commanded or served in it? To give them an opportunity to exert a valour useless to any but themselves? To stain another element with blood, with carnage, and sea-fights? Certainly not. The warlike fleets

are upon the ocean, what fortresses and ramparts ^{B O O K} are for the citizens of towns, and what national ^{XVIII.} armies are for the provinces exposed to the ravages of the enemy. There are some kinds of property attached to a soil, others are created and transported by commerce, and are, as it were, wandering upon the ocean. These two species of property required defenders. Warriors, this is your duty. What should we say if the land-forces refused to protect the inhabitants of the cities, or the husbandman of the field against the enemy, or to extinguish the conflagration which threatens the harvest? Officers of the navy, you think yourselves degraded in protecting and conveying the merchantmen. But if commerce be deprived of protectors, what will become of the riches of the state, part of which you undoubtedly expect as a reward for your services? What will become, for yourselves, of the revenues of your lands, which can only be made fruitful by trade and by the circulation of wealth? You think yourselves degraded. What! degraded in rendering yourselves useful to your fellow-citizens? What are then all the orders of the state, to whom government hath intrusted some portion of the public strength, but the protectors and the defenders of the citizen and his fortune? Your post is upon the seas, as that of the magistrate is upon the tribunals, that of the land officer and of the soldier in the camps, that of the monarch upon the throne, where he is only placed upon a more elevated situation, in order that his prospect may be extended to a greater distance, and

B O O K
XVIII.

and that he may behold at one view all those who require his protection or his defence. You aspire to glory. Learn that glory is every where to be obtained by serving the state. The ancient Romans were likewise undoubtedly attached to glory, and yet the honour of having preserved one single citizen in Rome, was preferred to that of having destroyed a multitude of enemies. Do you not perceive, that in saving the trading ships you save the wealth of the state? Yes, your valour is brilliant, it is known to all Europe, as well as to your own country; but what is it to your fellow-citizens that it hath been displayed on a splendid occasion, that it hath taken one of the enemy's ships, or covered the waves of the ocean with wrecks and ruins; if you suffer all the vessels which conveyed the riches of your country, to be either taken or destroyed; if in the very port to which you return victorious, a multitude of desolated families deplore the subversion of their fortune? You will not hear the exclamations of victory on your arrival. All will be silent and plunged in consternation, and your exploits will serve no other purpose but to swell the accounts of the courts, and to fill those public papers, which, being invented to amuse idleness, give glory only for a day, when that glory is not engraved in the hearts of the citizens by the remembrance of some real service done to the country.

THE maxims adopted at Portsmouth were very different. There the dignity of commerce was felt and respected. It was considered as a duty,

as well as an honour to defend it, and events decided, which of the two navies had the properest ideas of their functions. BOOK
XVIII.

GREAT BRITAIN had just experienced some very humiliating adversities in the New World, and it was threatened with greater disasters by a still more powerful enemy in the old one. This alarming situation filled the minds of all men with mistrust and uncertainty. The national riches came home safe, and their enormous mass was increased by those of the rival power; public credit was instantly revived, expectations were renewed; and this people, who with satisfaction were looked upon as overcome, recovered and sustained their usual pride.

On the other hand, the French ports were filled with lamentations. A degrading and ruinous inactivity succeeded to that activity which gave them splendour and riches. The indignation of the merchants communicated itself to the whole nation. The first moments of success are the moments of intoxication, which seem either to conceal or to justify the faults committed. But misfortune gives greater severity to opinion. The nation then attends more closely to those by whom they are governed, and demands from them, with arrogant freedom, an account of the power and authority that is intrusted to them. The councils of Lewis XVI. were accused of derogating from the majesty of the first power on the globe, by disavowing, in the face of the universe, the succour which they were incessantly sending clandestinely to the Americans. They
were

BOOK
XVIII.

were accused of having, either by a ministerial intrigue, or by the influence of some obscure agents, engaged the state in a ruinous war, at a time when they ought to have been employed in repairing the springs of government, in remedying the tedious disorders of a reign, the latter half of which had been mean, feeble, divided between depredations and shame, between the baseness of vice and the convulsions of despotism. They were accused of having provoked a rupture by an insidious policy, to have enveloped their meaning in speeches unworthy of France, and to have employed, with regard to England, the language of a timorous boldness, which seemed to deny the projects that were formed, and the sentiments they had in their hearts; a language which can only degrade the person who makes use of it, without being able to deceive him to whom it is addressed; and which dishonours, while the dishonour it brings along with it can neither be useful to the ministry nor to the state. How much more noble would it have been to have said with all the frankness of dignity: "Englishmen, you have abused your victory. This is the moment to be just, or else it will be that of revenge. Europe is tired of bearing with tyrants. She at length resumes her rights. Henceforth choose either equality or war." It is thus that Richelieu would have spoken; that Richelieu, whom every citizen ought indeed to detest, because he was a sanguinary assassin, and that in order to become a despot, he put all his enemies to death with the

ax of the executioner; but the nation and the state must revere him as a minister, because he was the first who apprized France of her dignity, and ascribed to her in Europe the rank which belonged to her power. It is thus that Lewis XIV. would have spoken to them, who during forty years shewed himself worthy of the age he lived in, whose very faults were always mixed with grandeur, and who, even in a state of dejection and misfortune, never degraded himself or his people. A great character is required to govern a great nation. More especially, there must be none of those spirits that are cold and indifferent from levity, for whom absolute authority is no more than an amusement, who leave great interests to the effects of chance, and who are more employed in preserving power than in making use of it. It is further asked, why men, who had all the power of the state in their hands, and who had only to command in order to be obeyed, have suffered themselves to be forestalled in all the seas by an enemy whose constitution necessarily produces delays? Why did they put themselves, by an inconsiderate treaty, into the shackles of congress, which might itself have been kept dependent by plentiful and regular subsidies? Lastly, why did not they secure the revolution, by keeping constantly upon the northern coasts of the New World a squadron to protect the colonies, and at the same time to make our alliance be respected? But Europe, whose eyes are fixed upon us, beholds a great design, and no concerted measures; it beholds in our arsenals
and

B O O K
XVIII.

and in our ports immense preparations and no execution; it beholds formidable fleets and this equipment rendered almost useless; it beholds boldness and valour in individuals, effeminacy and irresolution in commanders; every thing which announces on one hand the awful power of a great people, and on the other, every thing which announces the weakness and delay which arise from character and from the nature of the views.

It is by this striking contrast between our projects and our measures, between our means and the spirit which animates them, that the English genius, astonished for a moment, hath recovered its vigour; and it is a problem which Europe cannot solve, whether, in declaring for America, we have not ourselves raised the strength of England.

SUCH are the complaints which are heard on all sides, and which we are not afraid of collecting here, and of laying before the eyes of authority, if it should deign to listen to or to read them.

LASTLY, philosophy, whose first sentiment is the desire of seeing all governments equitable, and all people happy, in examining this alliance of a monarchy with a people who defend their liberty, endeavours to discover the motive of it. It perceives too clearly that the happiness of mankind hath no concern in it. It imagines, that if the court of Versailles had been determined by the love of justice, they would have mentioned in the first article of the convention with America, that *all people who are oppressed have a right to rise against*

against their oppressors. But this maxim, which constitutes one of the laws of England, which a king of Hungary, upon ascending the throne, ventured to make one of the constituent principles of the state, and which Trajan, one of the greatest princes who ever ruled over the earth, adopted, when in presence of the Roman people assembled, he said to the first officer of the empire: *I give you up my sword to defend me while I shall be just, and to fight against me and to punish me if I should become a tyrant.* This maxim is too foreign to our feeble and corrupt governments, where it is the duty of the people to suffer, and where the oppressed man should be apprehensive of feeling his misfortune, for fear he should be punished for it as a crime.

BUT it is particularly against Spain that the most bitter complaints are directed. She is censured for her blindness, her irresolution, her delays, sometimes even for her want of fidelity; but all these accusations are groundless.

SOME politicians imagined, when they beheld France engaging without necessity in a naval war, that this crown thought itself sufficiently powerful to separate the dominion of Great Britain, without sharing with an ally the honour of this important revolution. We will not examine whether the spirit which prevailed in the cabinet of Versailles authorised this conjecture. It is now known, that this crown, which since the beginning of the troubles had given secret assistance to the Americans, watched the propitious moment for declaring openly in their favour.

BOOK
XVIII.

The event of Saratoga appeared to furnish the most favourable opportunity to propose to his Catholic majesty to join in the common cause. Whether this prince then thought that the liberty of the United States was contrary to his interests; whether the resolution appeared to him to be precipitate, or whether, in a word, other political objects required his whole attention, he refused to accede to this proposal. His character prevented any further solicitations. Since those first attempts he was so little troubled about this great affair, that it was without giving him any previous notice, that the court of Versailles caused it to be signified to that of St. James's, that they had acknowledged the independence of the confederate provinces.

IN the mean while the land and sea-forces which Spain had employed in the Brazils against the Portuguese were returned. The rich fleet she expected from Mexico had entered into her ports. The treasures which were coming to her from Peru and from her other possessions were in safety. This power was free from any anxiety, and mistress of her own operations, when she aspired to the glory of introducing peace into both hemispheres. Her mediation was accepted, both by France, whose boldness had not been followed by those happy consequences she had expected from it, and by England, who might be apprehensive of having a new adversary to contend with.

Spain not
having suc-
ceeded in

CHARLES III. supported with dignity the magnanimous part he had undertaken. He declared that

that arms should be laid aside ; that each of the belligerent powers should be maintained in the possessions they might occupy at the period of the convention ; that a congress should be formed, in which the several pretensions should be discussed ; and that no new attack should be commenced without the previous notice of a twelve-month.

BOOK
XVIII.

conciliating
England
with France,
declares for
the latter of
these
powers,

THIS monarch was aware that this arrangement would give to Great Britain the felicity of reconciliation with her colonies, or at least would make them purchase by great advantages for her trade the sacrifice of the ports which she occupied in the midst of them. Nor was he ignorant of his offending the dignity of the king his nephew, who had engaged to maintain the United States in the entire possession of their territories. But he would be just ; and without setting aside all personal considerations it is impossible to be so.

THIS plan of conciliation was displeasing to the court of Versailles ; and the only hope they had was, that it would be rejected at London, as indeed it was. England could not resolve to acknowledge the Americans *ipso facto* independent, although they were not invited to the conferences that were going to be opened ; although France was not allowed to negotiate for them ; although their interests were only to be supported by a mediator, who was not attached to them by any treaty, and who, perhaps, in secret, did not wish them to prosper, and although her refusal threatened her with an additional enemy.

BOOK
XVIII.

It is in such a situation, when pride elevates the soul above the suggestions of fear, that nothing appears formidable, except the shame of receiving the law; and that there is no hesitation in choosing between ruin and dishonour: it is then that the greatness of a nation displays itself. I acknowledge, however, that men, accustomed to judge of the event, consider great and perilous revolutions as acts of heroism or of folly, according to the good or ill success that hath attended them. If, therefore, I should be asked, what name will be given a few years hence to the firmness which the English shewed on this occasion? I shall answer, that I know not: as to that which they deserve I know very well. I know that the annals of the world rarely present to us the august and majestic spectacle, of a nation which prefers the giving up of its duration to the loss of its glory.

No sooner had the British ministry explained themselves, than the court of Madrid took the part of that of Versailles, and consequently that of the Americans, in the contest. Spain had then sixty-three vessels of the line, and six more upon the stocks. France had fourscore and eight upon the docks. The United States had but twelve frigates, but a great number of privateers.

To so many forces united, England had only ninety-five ships of the line to oppose, and three and twenty upon the stocks. The other sixteen which were seen in her ports were unfit for service, and they had been converted to the purpose of ships for receiving prisoners, or into hospital

hospital ships. Thus inferior in the instruments of war, this power was still more so in the means of employing them upon service. Her domestic dissensions contributed still more to render ineffectual the resources she had remaining. It is the nature of governments that are truly free, to be agitated in times of peace. It is by these intestine commotions that the minds of men preserve their energy, and the perpetual remembrance of the rights of the nation. But in time of war it is necessary that every ferment should cease, that hatred should be extinguished, and that interests should be blended, and made subservient to each other. It happened quite otherwise in the British islands; for the disturbances in them had never been more violent. Opposite claims were never supported on any occasion with less moderation. The general good was insolently disregarded by all factions. Those houses, in which the most important questions had formerly been discussed, with eloquence, strength, and dignity, resounded only with the clamours of rage, gross insults, and altercations as prejudicial as they were indecent. The few persons who might be called citizens loudly exclaimed for a new Pitt, a minister, who like him had *neither relations nor friends*; but this extraordinary man did not appear. And indeed it was generally believed that this nation would fall, notwithstanding the haughtiness of their character, notwithstanding the experience of their admirals, notwithstanding the boldness of their seamen, and not-

withstanding the energy which a free people must acquire in the disturbances they experience.

BUT the sway of chance is very extensive. Who knows in favour of which party the elements will declare themselves? A gust of wind snatches away victory, or gives it. A cannon shot disconcerts a whole army by the death of the general. Signals are either not well understood, or not obeyed. Experience, courage, and skill, are counteracted by ignorance, by jealousy, by treason, and by the certainty of impunity. A fog arising, covers both the enemies, and either separates or confounds them. A calm and a storm are equally favourable or disadvantageous. The forces are divided by the unequal celerity of the ships. The opportunity is lost, either by pusillanimity, which postpones, or by rashness, which hastens an engagement. Plans may have been formed with prudence, but they may remain without effect, by the want of harmony in the evolutions for carrying them into execution. An inconsiderate command from court may decide the misfortune of a day. The disgrace or death of a minister alters the projects. Is it possible that a close union can long subsist between confederates of such opposite characters, as the French, who are passionate, disdainful, and volatile; the Spaniards, who are slow, haughty, jealous, and cold; and the Americans, who have constantly their looks turned towards the mother-country, and who would rejoice at the disasters of their allies, if they were compatible with their own independence?

ence? Will it be long before these nations, BOOK
XV. II. whether they act separately or in concert, reciprocally accuse, complain, and are at variance with each other? Will not their greatest hope be, that repeated strokes of adversity would only at most plunge them again into the humiliating state from whence they wished to emerge, and confirm the dominion of the seas to Great Britain; while one or two considerable defeats would for ever remove this ambitious people from the rank of the first power of this hemisphere?

Who can therefore decide; who can even foresee what will be the event? France and Spain united have the most powerful means in their favour; England hath the art of managing her own: France and Spain have their treasures, England hath a great national credit. On one hand are the multitude of men, and the number of troops; on the other, the superiority in the art of conducting ships, and of subduing the sea in engagements. Here there is impetuosity and valour; there valour and experience. On one hand, the activity which absolute monarchy may give to the measures; on the other, the vigour and the energy of liberty. One party is stimulated by resentment for losses, and by a long-continued series of outrages they have to avenge; the other, by the recollection of a recent glory, and by their having the sovereignty of America, as well as that of the ocean, to preserve. The two allied nations have the advantage which is derived from the union of two immense powers; but at the same time the inconvenience which re-

fults from this very union, by the difficulty even of preserving harmony and concord, either in the plans or in the disposal of their forces. England is abandoned to herself; but having nothing but her own forces to direct, she hath the advantage of unity in her designs; of a more certain, and perhaps more speedy combination of ideas. She can with greater facility regulate at one view her plans of attack and defence.

IN order to have an exact idea of things, one ought also to examine the different energy which may be communicated to the rival nations by a war, which on one side is no more in several respects than a war of kings and ministers; and on the other, a really national war, in which the greatest interests of England are concerned, a commerce, which constitutes her riches; an empire, and a glory, which compose her greatness.

FINALLY, if we consider the spirit of the French nation, in contrast with that of the nation she is at war with, it will be found that the ardour of the French is perhaps equally ready to be excited and to be extinguished; that their hopes are very sanguine at the beginning, and that they despair of every thing as soon as they are stopped by any obstacle; that by their character they require the enthusiasm of success, in order to obtain fresh advantages. The English, on the contrary, less presumptuous at first, notwithstanding their natural boldness, know how to struggle courageously, to be elevated in proportion to the increase of danger, and to acquire steadiness by disgrace: like the sturdy oak, to which Horace compares

compares the Romans, which, though cut by the ax and mutilated by iron, revives under the strokes which it receives, and acquires new vigour even from its wounds.

B O O K
XVIII.

HISTORY informs us, moreover, that few leagues have ever divided the spoils of the nation against which they had been formed. Athens triumphant over Persia; Rome saved from Annibal; in modern times, Venice preserved from the famous league of Cambray; and even in our days, Prussia, which by the genius of one single man hath held out against all Europe; all these examples authorise us to suspend our judgment respecting the issue of the present war.

BUT, let us suppose that the house of Bourbon shall have obtained all the advantages they may flatter themselves with, what conduct ought they to pursue?

What ought to be the policy of the house of Bourbon, should it be victorious.

FRANCE is, in every point of view, the empire the most strongly constituted of any one the remembrance of which is preserved in the annals of the world. Spain, though not to be compared with her, is likewise a state of great weight, and her means of prosperity are increasing daily. The principal care of the house of Bourbon, then, should be, to induce their neighbours to overlook the advantages which they derive from nature or from art, or which they have acquired by events. If they should endeavour to increase their superiority, the alarm would become general, and people would think themselves threatened with universal slavery. It is perhaps rather extraordinary, that the nations have not thwarted

B O O K
XVIII.

thwarted her projects against England. This supineness must have been occasioned by the resentment which the injustice and the haughtiness of that superb island have excited in all parts. But hatred is suspended when interest is concerned. It is possible, Europe may judge the weakening of Great Britain in the New and in the Old Hemisphere to be contrary to her own security; and that, after having enjoyed the spectacle of the humiliations and the dangers of that proud and tyrannical power, she may at length take up arms in her defence. Should this happen, the courts of Versailles and Madrid would find themselves disappointed in the hopes which they had conceived, of acquiring a decided preponderance upon the globe. These considerations should determine them to urge on the attacks, and not to leave time to a provident, or perhaps only a jealous policy, to make fresh plans. Let them especially stop in time, and let not an immoderate desire of lowering their common enemy blind them with regard to their true interests.

THE United States have openly discovered the project of drawing all North America into their confederation. Several steps, and particularly that of soliciting Canada to rebellion, must have induced an opinion, that it was likewise the desire of France. Spain may be suspected of having equally adopted this idea.

THE conduct of the provinces which have shaken off the yoke of Great Britain is simple, and such as one would expect. But would not
their

their allies be deficient in foresight, if they had really the same system? The New Hemisphere must one day be detached from the Old. This great evulsion is prepared in Europe by the ferment and by the clash of opinions; by the overthrow of our rights, which constituted our courage; by the luxury of our courts, and the misery of our country places; by the everlasting hatred there is between effeminate men who possess every thing, and robust, and even virtuous men, who have nothing to lose but their lives. It is prepared in America, by the increase of population, of cultures, of industry, and of knowledge. Every thing is tending towards this separation, both the progress of evil in one world, and the progress of good in another.

BUT can it be suitable to France and Spain, whose possessions in the New Hemisphere are an inexhaustible source of wealth, can it be suitable to them to hasten this division? Yet this is what would happen, if the whole northern part of those regions were subject to the same laws, or connected by one common interest.

SCARCELY would the liberty of this vast continent be confirmed, than it would become the asylum of all the intriguing, seditious, branded, or ruined men, who are seen amongst us. Neither agriculture, the arts, nor commerce, would be the resource of refugees of this character. A less laborious and more turbulent life would be necessary for them. This turn of mind, equally averse from labour and rest, would be disposed to conquests; and a passion which is so seducing
would

would readily subdue the first colonists, diverted from their ancient labours by a long war. The new people would have finished their preparations for invasion before the report of them could have reached our climates. They would chuse their enemies, their field of battle, and the moment of victory. Their attacks would always fall upon defenceless seas, or upon coasts taken by surprise. In a short time the southern provinces would become the prey of the northern ones, and would compensate, by the richness of their productions, for the mediocrity of those of the latter. Perhaps even the possessions of our absolute monarchies would endeavour to enter into the confederation of free people, or would detach themselves from Europe, to belong only to themselves.

THE measures which the courts of Madrid and Versailles ought to pursue, if they are at liberty to chuse, is to leave subsisting in the northern part of America, two powers which shall watch over, restrain, and balance each other. Then ages will elapse before England, and the republics formed at her expence, will be united. This reciprocal mistrust will prevent them from undertaking any thing at a distance; and the establishment of other nations in the New World will enjoy that state of tranquillity which hitherto hath been so much disturbed.

It is even probable, that this order of things would be most suitable to the confederate provinces. Their respective limits have not been regulated. A great jealousy prevails between the

countries of the North and those of the South. Political principles vary from one river to another. Great animosities are observed to subsist between the citizens of a town and the members of a family. Each of them will be desirous of removing from themselves the oppressive burthen of the public expences and debts. An infinite number of seeds of division are universally brooding in the heart of the United States. When once all dangers were removed, how would it be possible to prevent the breaking out of so many discontents? How would it be possible to keep attached to the same centre, so many deluded and exasperated minds? Let the real friends of America reflect upon this, and they will find, that the only way to prevent disturbances among the people, would be to leave upon their frontiers a powerful rival, always disposed to avail itself of their dissensions.

PEACE and security are necessary for monarchies; agitation and a formidable enemy for republics. Rome stood in need of Carthage; and he who destroyed the liberty of the Romans was neither Scylla nor Cæsar; it was the first Cato, when his narrow and stern system of politics deprived Rome of a rival, by kindling in the senate those flames which reduced Carthage to ashes. Venice herself perhaps would have lost her government and her laws four hundred years ago, if she had not had at her gates, and almost under her walls, powerful neighbours, who might become her enemies or her masters.

BVT

B O O K
XVIII.

What idea
must be
formed of
the thirteen
confederated
provinces.

BUT according to this system, to what degree of felicity, splendour, and strength, can the confederate provinces attain in process of time?

IN this place, to form a proper judgment, let us begin by setting aside that interest which all men, slaves not excepted, have taken in the generous efforts of a nation, which exposed itself to all calamities in order to be free. The name of liberty is so alluring, that all those who fight for it are sure of obtaining our secret wishes in their favour. Their cause is that of the whole human race, and becomes our own. We avenge ourselves of our oppressors, by venting at least freely our hatred against foreign oppressors. At the noise of these chains that are breaking, it seems to us that ours are going to become lighter; and for a few moments we think we breathe a purer air, when we learn that the universe reckons some tyrants less. Besides, these great revolutions of liberty are lessons to despots. They warn them not to reckon upon too long a continuance of the people's patience, and upon eternal impunity. So, where society and the laws avenge themselves of the crimes of individuals, the good man hopes that the punishment of the guilty may prevent the commission of fresh crimes. Terror sometimes supplies the place of justice with regard to the robber, and of conscience with regard to the assassin. Such is the source of the great concern we take in every war for liberty. Such hath been that with which the Americans have inspired us. Our imaginations have

have been heated in their favour. We have taken a part in their victories and their defeats. The spirit of justice, which delights in compensating former calamities by future happiness, is pleased with the idea, that this part of the New World cannot fail to become one of the most flourishing countries on the globe. It is even supposed, that Europe may one day find her masters in her children. Let us venture to resist the torrent of opinion, and that of public enthusiasm. Let us not suffer ourselves to be misled by imagination, which embellishes every thing; and by sentiment, which delights in forming illusions, and which realizes every hope. It is our duty to combat all prejudices, even those which are most consonant to the wishes of our hearts. Above all things, it behoves us to be true, and not to betray that pure and upright conscience which presides over our writings, and dictates our judgments. At this moment, perhaps, we shall not be believed; but a bold conjecture, which is confirmed at the end of several centuries, does more honour to the historian, than a long series of facts, the truth of which cannot be contested: and I do not write for my cotemporaries alone, who will only survive me a small number of years. When a few more revolutions of the sun are passed, both they and I shall be no more. But I deliver up my ideas to posterity and to time. It is theirs to judge me.

THE space occupied by the thirteen republics, between the mountains and the sea, is no more than sixty-seven sea leagues; but their extent upon

upon the coast, in a direct line, is three hundred and forty-five, from the river of Sancta Crux to that of Savannah.

THE lands in that region are almost generally bad, or at least indifferent.

SCARCE any thing but maize grows in the four most northern colonies. The only resource of the inhabitants is fishing, the annual produce of which doth not amount to more than 6,000,000 of livres*.

CORN is the principal support of the provinces of New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania. But the soil hath degenerated so rapidly, that an acre, which formerly yielded sixty bushels of wheat, very seldom produces even twenty at present.

THOUGH the lands of Maryland and of Virginia be much superior to all the rest, yet they cannot be deemed extremely fertile. The ancient plantations yield no more than one third of the tobacco which was formerly gathered. It is not possible to make any new ones; and the planters have been reduced to the necessity of turning their labours towards other objects.

NORTH CAROLINA produces some grain, but of so inferior a quality as to be sold in all markets twenty-five or thirty per cent. cheaper than the others.

THE soil of South Carolina and of Georgia is perfectly even, as far as fifty miles from the ocean. The excessive rains which fall there not

* 250,000l.

finding any outlet, form numerous morasses, where rice is cultivated to the great detriment of the freemen and of the slaves employed in this culture. In the intervening spaces between these large bodies of water so frequently met with, an inferior kind of indigo grows, which must be transplanted every year. In the elevated part of the country nothing is to be found except barren sands and frightful rocks, intersected at great distances by pasture grounds of the nature of rushes.

THE English government, convinced that North America would never enrich them by its natural productions, employed the powerful incentive of gratuities in order to produce in that part of the New World, flax, vines, and silk. The poorness of the soil disconcerted the first of these views; the defect of the climate prevented the success of the second, and the want of hands did not permit the third to be pursued. The society established in London for the encouragement of arts was not more fortunate than administration. Their benefactions did not bring forth any of the objects which they had proposed to the activity and industry of those countries.

GREAT BRITAIN was obliged to be contented with selling every year to the countries we are speaking of, to the amount of about 50,000,000 livres* of merchandise. Those by whom they were consumed delivered to her exclusively their indigos, their iron, their tobacco, and their pel-

* 2,083,333 l. 6s. 8d.

BOOK
XVIII.

tries. They also delivered to her all the money and rough materials which they had received from the rest of the globe in exchange for their grain, their fish, their rice, and their salt provisions.

THE balance however was always so unfavourable to them that at the beginning of the troubles the colonies were indebted one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty millions of livres * to the mother-country, and they had no specie in circulation.

NOTWITHSTANDING these disadvantages, there had been successively formed in the midst of the thirteen provinces, a population of two millions nine hundred eighty-one thousand six hundred and seventy-eight persons, including four hundred thousand Negroes. New inhabitants were constantly driven there by oppression and intolerance. The unfortunate have been deprived of this refuge by war; but peace will restore it to them again; and they will resort there in greater numbers than ever. Those who shall go there with plans of cultivation, will not have all the satisfaction they may expect, because they will find all the good, and even the indifferent lands occupied, and that scarce any thing remains to offer them, except barren sands, unwholesome morasses, or steep mountains. The emigrations will be more favourable to manufacturers and to artists, though perhaps they will gain nothing by changing their country and their climate.

* From 5,000,000l. to 5,416,666l. 13s. 4d.